



Lies on Bombings Shock the World, Ottawa Hid Facts

External Affairs Minister Paul Harris' office was well aware the U.S. was bombing central Hanoi as early as November 13. On that day the members of the Canadian permanent delegation in Hanoi suffered bomb damage. One of the Canadians, according to New York Times correspondent Harrison Salisbury in his dispatch from Hanoi of January 8, sent some of the bomb fragments back to U.S. quarters in Saigon with a "Look here chaps, this is a little bit too much."

Harrison Salisbury's reports from Hanoi, affirming that the U.S. is bombing civilian targets in North Vietnam have shocked millions throughout the world who still had some confidence in the word of President Johnson and his military and Democratic party advisors. The New York Times reports have discredited all those who have been defending the murderous war of aggression that the U.S. rulers are waging against the freedom struggle of the people of Vietnam.

The U.S. officialdom has been caught in the glaring light of world public opinion trying to pass off the crudest of lies. Under the widening arc of the truth, they have retreated. But only from confessing to one lie in order to try to establish

another as the truth.

The cascading, the compounding of one lie upon another, this monstrous contradiction between truth and lie is now being passed off by those who defend U.S. policy regardless—as the "credibility gap." They fear that having come to understand the lie on this phase of the conduct of the

war in Vietnam, that the people of the entire world, and particularly of the United States, will come to understand that it is a lie that the U.S. is defending democracy there, that it is a lie that the U.S. is there to halt aggression, etc., and that—the whole thing is a lie.

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"Unionists, Protest!"

VANCOUVER — The imprisoned secretary of the Vancouver Labour Council (CLC-AFL-CIO), C. P. (Paddy) Neale, urges "all trade union leaders in Canada to join the crusade against the war in Vietnam." He did so through a letter read to the mass meeting held here on December 9 by the Vietnam Day Committee to hear the former "Green Beret" U.S. Marine Master Sgt. Donald Duncan.

Neale is one of four BC trade union leaders serving sentences from three to six months for violating a strikebreaking injunction at the Lenkurt plant this Spring. The following message was read to periodic outbursts of applause from the audience of 700 to 800 persons.

"I don't think it necessary for me to inform you of my complete opposition to the vicious, undeclared war in Vietnam; a war in which young American boys are being forced against their will to slaughter innocent women and children in a foreign country thousands of miles away from their homeland, for reasons that are only obvious to the Political, Military and Financial leaders of the U.S.A.

"There is no doubt in my mind that history will record this wanton destruction of a small nation by the most powerful military world has ever known as a par with the communist."

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WORKERS Vanguard

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Ottawa Hid Facts

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How is it that it takes a *New York Times* correspondent's reports to establish something as being the truth? The fact is that for Salisbury to be the harbinger of truth about the bombings, others, who knew what he only disclosed on December 25, had had to seal their lips.

The Canadian Government knew, Prime Minister Pearson and his cabinet and their confidants knew, when Hanoi charged the U.S. with bombing civilians on December 13 that it was the simple truth. They had to admit this, after the Salisbury revelations—for the simple reason that there are five Canadian Government representatives in Hanoi with whom they are in constant contact.

They are there in their capacity as members of the International Control Commission struck off in 1954 to enforce the Geneva Accords. The Canadian Government knew the truth long before Salisbury's revelations but, in complicity with the Johnson administration, Pearson covered it over.

In his December 31 dispatch from Hanoi, in which he reported that he was only able to get there via the International Control Commission's weekly plane flight from Saigon, Salisbury affirms that "there is a French representative there, who is something like a consul. There's the Canadian component of the International Control Commission which is assigned to enforcing the Geneva agreements. There is also the Indian consul-general and the Indian component of the ICC which also has Polish members."

The silence of the Polish members gives substance to the Chinese charge that the Soviet bureaucracy, along with its satellites, is covering up the bombings in order to swing a deal with the U.S.—at the expense of the Vietnamese and entire colonial peoples' struggles.

Canadian industry's participation in the highly profitable armament of U.S. forces, through government-solicited contracts, makes her party to the destruction and chaos so graphically described in Salisbury's dispatches. But Canadian materiel is by no means essential to the operation of the U.S. murder-machine. In fact it is more as a reward, than anything else for the political white-wash, the public declarations of solidarity that the Canadian Government has been giving all along to Washington.

With the rising doubt as to whether this war can be won, and concern over the dangers it holds of escalating beyond a point of no return, the U.S. Government has become increasingly isolated from its capitalist allies. As this process has continued Canada's support has become even more important—President Johnson demonstrated his understanding of this by taking a special trip to Campobello last September to give Pearson an opportunity to once again voice his approval.

While Ottawa unofficially admitted that it knew Saigon spoke the truth when it protested the bombings two weeks before Salisbury's revelations, it has not yet broken its silence. By such abject complicity, when its position on the International Control Commission demands that it speak out, by such abject subservience, Pearson emboldens U.S. spokesmen such as the chairman of the House of Representatives, who dares to urge that we "should flatten Hanoi if necessary."

The NDP parliamentary representatives have made only the most perfunctory denunciations of the U.S. war on the Vietnamese. They have made no effort to mount a campaign to mobilize such forces as would compel the ending of Canadian complicity in this dirty war. This is their number one responsibility.

"Open the Books" for the Truth about Prices

Prices, the cost of living, took another leap to hit 145.9 on the consumer price index, to make December 1966 3.6 per cent higher than December 1965. But the shoppers protest movement, which two months ago appeared to be developing along militant lines, promising effective action to restrain and even halt the accelerating robbery of the weekly pay envelope, has got bogged down—at least temporarily.

The prices protesters have so far failed to develop a program capable of uniting their forces, of building them and projecting them forward in struggle. While the trade union movement and the New Democratic party have the means and the responsibility they have failed to get really behind the movement, build it, and give it the direction that it requires. Those who thought that a few protest picket line demonstrations in front of the shopping plazas would bring down prices, who urged shoppers to switch from the big chains to the small independents, or advocated boycotts against certain select commodities, soon found they were getting nowhere. A few efforts to launch modest consumers' goods co-operatives such as at Deux Montagnes, just outside Montreal, immediately came up against a solid refusal of wholesalers to service them and were smashed.

All these varied propositions acted upon by indignant housewives across the country, some propositions combined with others, evoked a massive counterattack from the profit-gorged monopolistic food producers, packers and distributors, blared out and insinuated over every medium of communication.

The main instrument for this assault on the housewives, strange enough, was one supposedly shaped to serve as an aid to the price protester — the Senate-commons consumer credit committee and the government's longstanding Consumers Association of Canada.

Back in Mid-October, NDP leader T. C. Douglas revealed two very grave limitations of the committee: (1) — it has no power to examine the books of the various

companies, and, (2)—its members do not have the time to conduct the kind of investigation that needs to be carried on continuously. Using the fact that the committee, well stacked with Liberal and Tory M.P.'s and senators, refused to call before it the automobile monopolists to justify their price hoists, Douglas declared that the committee was "being used as a smokescreen."

The NDP was therefore faced with the alternative of either withdrawing its members from the committee, and thereby exposing it as a pawn of the Big Business interests—or remaining on it to persistently present its own demands and mobilize the protest movement through delegations and deputations to supplement the actions of its members on the committee.

The NDP parliamentary caucus did neither. They remained on the committee and passively conformed to its limitations, thereby becoming part of the smokescreen. They ac-

cepted without protest committee counsel John J. Urie's declaration that as far as the hearings were concerned there would be "no question of invasion of privacy" — that is — no serious investigation of pricing mechanisms and the profit structure of the food processing, packing and distributing corporations, no real revelations of their connections with one other and with the dominant financial institutions — that their business secrets would not be bared to the public.

They went along with co-chairman S. R. Badford's defence of the right of such corporations as Dominion Stores to keep their business secrets, since such private companies as the T. Eaton company do so by law, and his assurance to corporation heads that even such information as was available to the committee would not be made public.

The interim report of the Senate-

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OPEN THEIR BOOKS!

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commons Committee, handed down on December 20, was, as to be expected, a complete whitewash of Big Business interests. It blamed no groups for the monstrous price gouging. It whitewashed the profiteers and in fact passed the blame onto their victims—onto the consuming public. It urged that they be educated to protect themselves, (from whom, it did not specify), and to learn how to shop more carefully.

It made one concrete proposal—that a federal consumers affairs department be set up, probably under the Registrar-General. What another committee will add to the already existing five or six committees on consumer affairs is not clear. The Senate-commons investigating committee itself did not know of the already existing consumers division in the federal Food and Drug Directorate. It is authorized to direct a program of consumers education, protect Canadians from health hazards and fraud, and recommend action. The head of the division informed the committee that it was not even listed in the Ottawa phone book and that it had a miserable budget of \$18,000.

Despite the incredibly restrained and curtailed investigation conducted by the committee, the situation is so rotten that even the slightest surface disturbance brings bits of sensational information up to the top. For instance while the committee finding stated that "one would have to look elsewhere than profiteering to explain the rise in cost of living," the president of Canadian Canners admitted that his company's profits had increased in the past six years 396%, although sales increased a mere 26%.

Kellogg Company of Canada officials admitted that sales and promotion account for 14.17 cents out of every sales dollar. While they gave no dollar figures they reported that they earned after taxes net profits of 11.97 per cent on every sales dollar. Two cents profit per sales dollar and less was what the massive profit-gorged chain stores admitted to in earlier sessions.

Spokesmen for Colgate-Palmolive admitted, that there is no truth whatsoever in their and other company claims that one detergent has more cleaning capacity than another. The president of Burns Food Ltd., one of the Big Three meat packers—

candidly admitted that his firm makes no attempt at all to find out what the housewife wants. This admission caused co-chairman Senator Croll to sum up a committee member's complaint to mean "You don't ask the woman; you tell her."

But the most sensational incident of the hearings was the George Weston interests' simultaneous revelation to the committee and to its shareholders of a partial view of their vast holdings. This closely guarded information revealed that the Weston world-wide food empire is the third largest merchandising organization in the world from a sales point of view and from a profit point of view is exceeded only by Sears Roebuck and Company. Weston interests are now known to control at least 30% of all Canadian retail food distribution and 50% of the bread, pie, cake and biscuit business.

While the Senate-commons committee made no examination of the material that the Weston interests presented to it, it is obvious that the

extent and variety of the Weston interests alone blasts to bits all the previous attempts of business spokesmen to pass off responsibility for higher prices onto some other level of production than the one they are working. Weston interests span and often dominate every stage of the productive and marketing process, from fish companies to shipping companies, to printing, packaging and paper companies, on through to manufacturing of biscuits, bread, ice cream, chocolates, to grocery wholesaling and retailing, and a vast chain of drug outlets.

Rather than demand its financial figures which would reveal its profit structure, rather than open up an investigation of the pricing policies of this corporate octopus, its interlocking sales arrangements, the salaries, bonuses and kickbacks accruing to its executives, the committee appeared to join in admiration that a Canadian heads up an international network with sales of \$4,200 million a year and has personal holdings in his main British companies alone valued at \$180 million.

Not the least interesting was evidence turned in by the government-sponsored Consumers Association of Canada that the supermarkets, knowing the items on which the government's consumers price index

is based, deliberately hold the prices down on these items in order to hide the full extent of the prices hoists. After expressing the viewpoint that it would be difficult to investigate such a matter, one of the committee spokesmen made the fatuous comment that, in any event, since the food index has been increasing substantially, deliberate attempts of this type have obviously had little success.

It should now be clear, as the Senate-commons committee prepares to reconvene, that no action to halt the price gouging will come out of it.

In order to achieve any of its purposes the prices protest movement must be built independently, basing itself on popular community organizations and linking itself up with its natural allies, the trade unions, the farmers organizations and the co-operative movement. It should marshal facts by appealing to workers employed in the giant business organizations to supply it with information that can be worked on by trade union research experts. Among its key demands should be—Open the Books! We demand to know all the facts about production, distribution and circulation of commodities—in preparation for the working people planning the economy in the interests of themselves.

U. S. Escalation in Vietnam Presses Anti-War Forces Towards Unity

By P. Kent

TORONTO — Washington's cynical escalation of the war in Vietnam through the bombing of Hanoi as it was pulling off another of its phony Christmas peace offers brought out an immediate protest demonstration in front of the downtown Toronto U.S. Consulate General. Some 60 demonstrators gathered at the consulate on Saturday afternoon of December 17. Following their picket and a short meeting they moved off into the crowds of shoppers displaying banners and placards and distributing on a wide scale a leaflet scolding U.S. Government spokesmen who were attempting to brazen their way out of this criminal action by claiming that only military targets were being bombed and that anyway they did not know where Hanoi is—"how far the suburbs extend."

The leaflet pointed out that during the Christmas truce "The people of Hanoi in the silence will be able to bury their loved ones, to attend their injured and maimed, perhaps patch up their smashed homes—and then, according to schedule, the horror will burst out again." American youth will be thrust into the slaughter again and Canadian munition plants will gear into production again.

It appealed to the citizens of Toronto to "make this Christmas a full and genuine act for peace and goodwill to man" by joining in with the forces of opposition to the war in Vietnam. The sponsors of the demonstration and signers of the leaflet were four Metro Toronto community committees to End the War in Vietnam, the University of Toronto Committee and the Students (high school) Against War in Vietnam. Dr. James G. Endicott of the Canadian Peace Congress, in the course of his short address, warmly endorsed the demonstration. "I have talked many times with representatives of the National Liberation Front, and they have told me," he said, "the importance to them of such actions as we are undertaking today."

While the Toronto anti-war forces were not able to realize a broader

unity on this action, recent developments suggest that the tragic split of last summer may well be overcome.

Following a campaign of petty gossip and innuendo the Vietnam Day Committee was muscled out of the Vancouver actions over the August 6-9 Days of Protest. Around the same time the U. of T. CEWV, along with SAWV and the representatives of the International Vietnam Day Committee and the Committee of Concerned New Democrats, were excluded by a formal vote from the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam as Trotskyists or a "Greek chorus of the Trotskyists." The formal motivation was that these forces want to build a single issue movement, seeking to link it to the US anti-war movement and see the Canadian movement as part of a world-wide anti-war movement.

But the highly successful Vancouver meeting organized by the Vietnam Day Committee for "Green Beret" Sargent Donald Duncan this month was supported by the Peace Action Committee. A turn in Toronto took place with the conference called on November 19 to reconstitute the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee. The week previous a successful memorial in remembrance of those who fell in World Wars I and II and those now falling in Vietnam was held at the new City Hall. Featured speakers were Rabbi Feinberg, Reverend Epp, Kay Macpherson of the Voice of Women, and George Novack, a New York socialist scholar on a speaking tour of Canadian universities at the time. While the reconstituted TCCEWV gave support to this action it was strictly tokenist. The backbone of the action was the U. of T. CEWV, SAWV, and the community organizations.

The reconstituted Co-ordinating Committee's conference stood out in unfavorable contrast to the Remembrance Day Action. Featured speaker Jim Harding of SUPA failed to show and attendance was poor. The need for unity was obvious. Representatives of the excluded groups

were seated at the conference. A series of proposals that would have tended to turn the committee into a new left formation of a multi-issue character, with a staff and a paper, were defeated. A motion to reconstitute the committee, opening it to all political parties and groupings, was passed. Attempts to encompass in the resolution a clause that would permit exclusion for violation of committee discipline was defeated. The proponents of this resolution frankly aimed for a ban on circulation of tendency organs at committee demonstrations, in particular *Workers Vanguard*. This proposal was defeated after several speakers scored it as a violation of the most elementary democratic rights.

Since the conference there have been two meetings of the reconstituted Coordinating Committee. Efforts are still being made to restrict the circulation of material. There is a tendency to see the committee as a clearing house rather than a committee for joint action, which the importance of the struggle against the war in Vietnam requires it to be.

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to know what socialists are doing in your community.

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NDP Should Demand Bank Nationalization

BY P. KENT

The Pearson government is pressing forward to enact a scattering of amendments to the Bank Act. The deadline is April 1—the date that the charters of the banks are due to expire.

The NDP MP's are in an excellent position to respond to the fears that the collapse of such firms as Atlantic Acceptance and Prudential Finance have roused in the ranks of policy holders and small investors, many of whom lost their life's savings in the debacle. They will have the opportunity to speak out in a meaningful way to the hundreds of thousands who are being squeezed by the exorbitant interest rates charged by the finance, loan and credit institutions. They will be able to meet and head up the widespread concern over the influence of U.S. capital in the Canadian economy and its infringements on Canadian sovereignty.

The NDP MP's should propose that the charters of all the banks be allowed to expire and that, along with the "near banks" and all other institutions involved in the accumulation and circulation of money and credit, they be nationalized.

Instead of merely being critics of the parties of Big Business they could become genuine tribunes of the people. With an effective campaign waged around the idea of the nationalization of the banks and credit institutions they would win a wide hearing and lay the ground work for the time when the working people will come to control all the economic forces which now control them.

The government is responding to the widespread uneasiness across the country. Prime Minister Pearson has brought Walter Gordon out of limbo, shoved him into the cabinet, and assigned him to head up a committee of cabinet ministers studying foreign investment. The press is hard at work presenting "differences" between Mr. Gordon and Finance Minister Sharp, with Trade and Commerce Minister Winters thrown in, as the dispute of the century, with the added rider that the Liberal Party is the arena in which all matters will ultimately be resolved.

They have shoved under the counter Gordon's firm statement when he returned to the cabinet that "the prime minister, Mr. Sharp and I are in complete agreement on the best approach to this very thorny problem (greater control of the Canadian economy by Canadians). There is no difference between us."

Mr. Gordon has made it clear that the whole question of foreign invest-

ment "will be a major issue in the coming election."

The Liberals have already sketched out their program. Their first plan will be a veritable deluge of expressions of concern, and multiple assurances of full-scale investigations. These words may even take on form in the shape of reforms, even restrictive legislation. Remember, back in 1964, they granted a charter to the Bank of Western Canada?

Westbank was designed as a sop to Western interests chaffing under the control of Eastern bankers. But as Mr. Coyne revealed last month to a Commons Committee, before it could open its first branch office it fell into the clutches of Eastern financiers. In fact, despite the cover that 11 of its 17 directors are Westerners, it was in their clutches from the start, for the majority were already directors in that Eastern corporation sailing under the flag, British International Finance.

Of course Westbank had another great merit. It was not only Western, but it was Canadian. Mr. Coyne's revelations are interesting in this respect also. In short order BIF, which owns 51% of Westbank's stocks, evading the squeeze of Eastern banking interests who see it as a competitor, turned to U.S. banking interests. In return for a promised 1½ million dollar loan the U.S. bankers took an option to purchase BIF shares up to 10% of the voting stock in Westbank.

The government has refused to assume any responsibility to the 8,200 investors who lost 19 million dollars in the collapse of Prudential, or to even tighten up on its supervision of such institutions. In fact it is preparing legislation which will only underwrite future collapses. It is allocating 10 million dollars to a crown institution which can draw up to 500 million, to insure deposits in banks, trust and loan companies. These funds are going to come from the taxpayers pockets — from the public treasury.

Under the Liberals, and the Tories and Social Credit too for that matter, there will be continued talk of guidelines, suggestions to would-be

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NATIONALIZE

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investment interests, and allocation of subsidies from public funds to capitalists who are prepared to provide know-how to certain areas of the economy not considered profitable otherwise.

But Canadians won't be in control of the economy until they own it — until those who work in its shops and offices make, in their own interests, all the decisions as to the allocation of accumulated wealth and the development of the country's potential wealth.

The first elementary step in this direction is nationalization of all the bank and credit institutions. And it is the responsibility of the NDP MP's to speak up for this right away. ✕

Massive Teachers' Strike Staggers Que. Establishment

02-15-2

BY JEAN LAPLANTE

The Quebec teachers ended their strike. But not before over 60,000 of them brought it to a climax with a massive one day general strike on February 17 which closed down every primary and secondary school in the province in defiance of the Union Nationale government's Bill 25.

Some 5,000 Montreal civic employees have gone back to work — after paralyzing the city's business for 34 days. But not until the leadership of the National Union of Municipal Workers (CNTU) jammed through and signed an agreement which had the approval of less than 61% of

those voting. A previous attempt to win acceptance of the offer ended in chaos with several hundred strikers shouting "sell out" and pelting the leadership with eggs. The settlement meeting was held under the supervision of the police in a hall surrounded by over a dozen squad cars.

What the experts on the "Quebec Question" have been calling the "Quiet Revolution" has been taking on such a militant, explosive form that it has not only shaken the government. It has shaken the opposition too — from the Liberals through the RIN to the NDP and the leadership of the trade union movement, the CNTU and the QFL, as well —

right to the roots.

"We are headed straight to anarchy," cried Premier Johnson as he berated the teachers and pushed through the house his Bill 25, designed to force back the 12,000 teachers who had been out on strike for over five weeks.

Liberal leader and former Premier Lesage who urged the teachers to obey the law, to which he of course recorded opposition, cried out when they were joined in defiance by the entire profession: "There is in Quebec a grave crisis in authority, a psychosis of illegality and a general lack of respect for the law." At the same time as he said there is "too much authoritarianism on the part of government," he underscored that "there is too much egotism on the part of the citizens."

"Ever since the death of Maurice Duplessis people have been saying no to everybody and everything," said NDP leader Robert Cliche. "People have been saying no to religious authority, no to established order, no to the courts. Without being separatists, they've been saying no to confederation," he noted. "It is a complete refusal to go along with anything."

What has the Quebec state, the Union Nationale government and their loyal opposition worried is that new elements are being continually swept into the struggle. For some time now it has not been limited to, and perhaps has not even so much involved the workers in basic industry — and certainly not the most deprived sectors of the Quebec working population. On an ever increasing scale it has been the white collar workers, the professional workers who have been in ferment.

They have been projected into struggle, not against Ottawa so much as against Quebec City, against the Lesage-Levesque Liberals and the Union Nationale who have been trying to present themselves as spokesmen for the Quebecois. And as was the case with the teachers, the conflict has found a new class unity — Catholic with Protestant, Anglais with Quebecois.

The teachers' struggle commenced November 24, in the Yamaska region just east of Montreal, under the banner of higher wages — although it has been estimated that teachers' wages have doubled in the last five years. The Yamaska teachers were driven back to work two months later by court injunctions. But by then 9,000 English and French speaking Roman Catholic Montreal teachers were on strike.

Premier Johnson, his technical advisors the same that the Liberals had appointed, responded by introducing Bill 25 on February 9. This bill not only ordered the teachers back within 48 hours of passage, or fines of up to \$50 for individuals and \$1,000 for unions for each day they disobeyed it, it extended all contracts until June 1968 and imposed a wage scale that had been worked out by the Lesage regime.

Lesage opposed the bill — in particular he condemned Johnson for framing a law he knew would not be obeyed — while one of his former cabinet ministers, Lionel Bertrand, announced he favored it because of the emergency, and in the hope that it "would put an end to the present lack of respect for authority and the law."

As it went before the house Bill 25 roused massive opposition. On February 12 some 12,000 teachers and supporters marched on the Quebec legislature in sub zero weather. The leadership of the two trade union centers, the Canadian National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labour, protested that the bill was a Trojan horse-directed against all civil servants who had only recently acquired the right to strike. The CNTU talked of setting up political action committees in every riding to fight

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Que. Teachers' Strike Shocks Establishment

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the bill. The QFL even talked of general strike.

The Ontario Federation of Women Teachers sent \$10,000 to fight against Bill 25. The Ontario Teachers Federation asked what it could do to help. When some teachers talked of resigning, Johnson, trying to set Quebecois against Anglais, urged that the latter leave Quebec. The Monday following the one day general strike, held in the face of fines and jail terms, the majority of the board of directors of the Montreal Alliance des Professeurs urged that the strike be extended two more days. The vote to return was a close one — 3,466 to 2,210. The militants opposed the return to work by identifying themselves with les Anglais, the CECM — an estimated 3,200 English-speaking teachers did not return on the 20th.

The 53,000 member Corporation des Instituteurs Catholiques returned, committed to meet within a month to study the possibility of recommending mass resignations at the end of the school term.

The teachers struggle, according to one analyst, already ranks with such labor turning points as the industrial

strikes of Asbestos and Murdochville. There has never before in Canadian history been such an open mass disobedience towards a government. In a single stroke, 60,000 teachers, two-thirds of them women, the bulk just out of their teens, paralyzed a pivotal area of community life by leaving 1½ million students without classes.

There is no doubt that such a demonstration of contempt for class legislation by a profession that is highly regarded in the community will have a deep impact on the youth of Quebec. On the other hand the courage of their action, the high degree of unity and solidarity they realized will have a deep impact on the teachers themselves.

The CIC has affirmed that their struggle was never merely a matter of wages but their trade union status and recognition of their professional status — the right to play a role in deciding teaching methods and choice of texts, etc.

Now all Canada can assimilate the lessons of this struggle, and not the least of these — both wings of the Quebec trade union movement which did nothing but make words.

NDP LEADER JOINS APPEAL FOR BLANCO

By Ross Dawson

Toronto—One of the worst winters in years kept the attendance down to 85 or 90 persons but failed to cool the spirit of the meeting called in solidarity with the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco held on January 27. The rally was sponsored by a group of leading figures in Toronto university circles, including Professor C. R. Macpherson and the well-known business agent of the Toronto Labourers' Union, Garry Gallagher. It follows up a swelling demand from intellectuals and students in this country that Blanco and his comrades be granted amnesty.

No action had the meeting been advised that a telegram, which had been delayed, arrived expressing solidarity with its persons. It read: "We support all your efforts to save Hugo Blanco. He must not die." It was signed by Neil Rafter, the Alberta leader of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic party, and a score of faculty members at the University of Alberta, including C. Rowe, head of the anthropology department; A. Murdoch, head of the philosophy department; and C. Roy, head of the political science department. Just a few days earlier some 15 members of the faculty of Toronto's York University signed an amnesty appeal.

The featured speaker at the Toronto solidarity meeting with Blanco and his imprisoned comrades was Professor André Gunder Frank, author of *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, and a world renowned authority on Latin America, presently visiting professor in economics and history, St. George's University, Montreal.

Kes O'Byrne, Spanish department, York University, and a member of Amnesty International, chaired the evening and introduced the supplementary speakers: Professor Ken Walker, University of Toronto; Ross Dawson, editor of *Western Worker*; and Jas. Munka, Ontario Regional Director of the United Hist. Org. and Military Workers' Union.

Professor Frank opened his contribution with the somewhat, "There's a Muerre! — and or faith — the dogs of Hugo Blanco; Pura o Muerte! — (cherished or death — the slogan of Fidel Castro; and, I should add the end: *Venceremos!* — we shall win — express the same sentiments and the same reality. Essentially their reason for being is created by the same force — the growth and development and continued existence of the capitalist system, the imperialist system, of which we have in Canada are at such a part as the peasants led by Blanco or the peasants led by Fidel.

"Already, by the time of the Spa-

nish conquest, the peasants of Cuzco had been incorporated into the development of this, commercial capital, later, industrial capitalism, and today, monopoly capitalism. Their fate and their liberative tomorrow will be the necessary consequences of the development of this imperialist system."

Professor Frank, in placing the struggle led by Hugo Blanco in the wider context of Latin American and international politics, made the case with facts and figures that the liberatory struggle in Latin America, such as that led by Blanco, are inseparably connected with the anti-imperialist struggle of the workers in North America. He showed that the struggle against the imperialists (big landowners) who are part and parcel of the national bourgeoisie, who in turn play an independent role but are tandem partners of American imperialism, can only be anti-imperialist and socialist.

He contrasted the strategy of the Communist parties, which he said could only by the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie be called revolutionary, with the guerrilla force strategy of the FIDELITES and the policy of Hugo Blanco and Pura in Brazil.

He warned of the Vietnamization, the wiping out with the most complete forces of destruction, of the currents of popular struggle by American imperialism and expressed the opinion that solidarity such as was being expressed tonight with Blanco will have to be repeated, enlarged, and deepened in the future.

He added: "The more we can attack this system here, the more we will be helping the peasants led by Hugo Blanco, the more we will be helping Hugo Blanco, if he survives, or those who will necessarily follow him and who will in his words give *Tierra o Muerte*, or in the words of Fidel, *Pura o Muerte*, and we will win — *Venceremos!*"

Professor Walker gave a short review of certain sociological concepts of student leaders in Latin American universities and concluded that Blanco, who left his studies on agronomy and went into the labor move-



Hugo Blanco

ment and finally amongst the peasants, whose language he knew and amongst whom he lived and worked at great risk, displayed unique and unique qualities. He closed by quoting an article by R. Debray to the effect that "Hugo Blanco did more in a few years' work by forming unions of 'campesinos' in the Valle de la Convención than all the following parties together in the last thirty years."

Trade-unionist Munka expressed regret that the labor movement in North America had not yet firmly identified itself with the cause of Blanco and his comrades as their struggle was in the best tradition of the labor movement. He expressed Blanco's intransigence with the principled stand taken by Pedro Nolasco and his five comrades who were about to be hanged in the Valle de la Convención. We here in Canada are going to be required to stand up and be counted and that is why we should stand behind Hugo Blanco now, he said.

The chairman in his closing remarks advised the audience that the Toronto Branch of Amnesty International has promised to the presidents of Peru and the Peruvian ambassador in Ottawa that in their opinion Blanco's "arrest and imprisonment are in conflict with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which we believe Peru to be a signatory. We therefore urgently request that you use your authority to see that Blanco and his comrades are released at this time."

Bob McCarthy, leading organizer of the protest, announced that the \$118 collection, after deduction of expenses, would be forwarded to Blanco's lawyers in aid of the defense.

Where the Action is Fri Night, Vancouver

For trade union militants, left-wing NDPers and socialists living in the Vancouver area, there is only one place to go on a Friday evening—that is to the Vanguard Forum held at 1185 Granville Street, starting at 8 p.m.

It is the only place in town where you can regularly hear a socialist analysis of current events, hear speakers who are authorities in their own

and is maintain the status quo—and that Canada should get out of that now.

Forum participants on January 27 were able to hear a first hand account of the discrimination suffered by Canada's Indian population and what measures are being taken to stop it when Steve and Mabel Lewis shared the platform together. Mabel Lewis is active in sustaining belief

Cuba's P.M. Castro

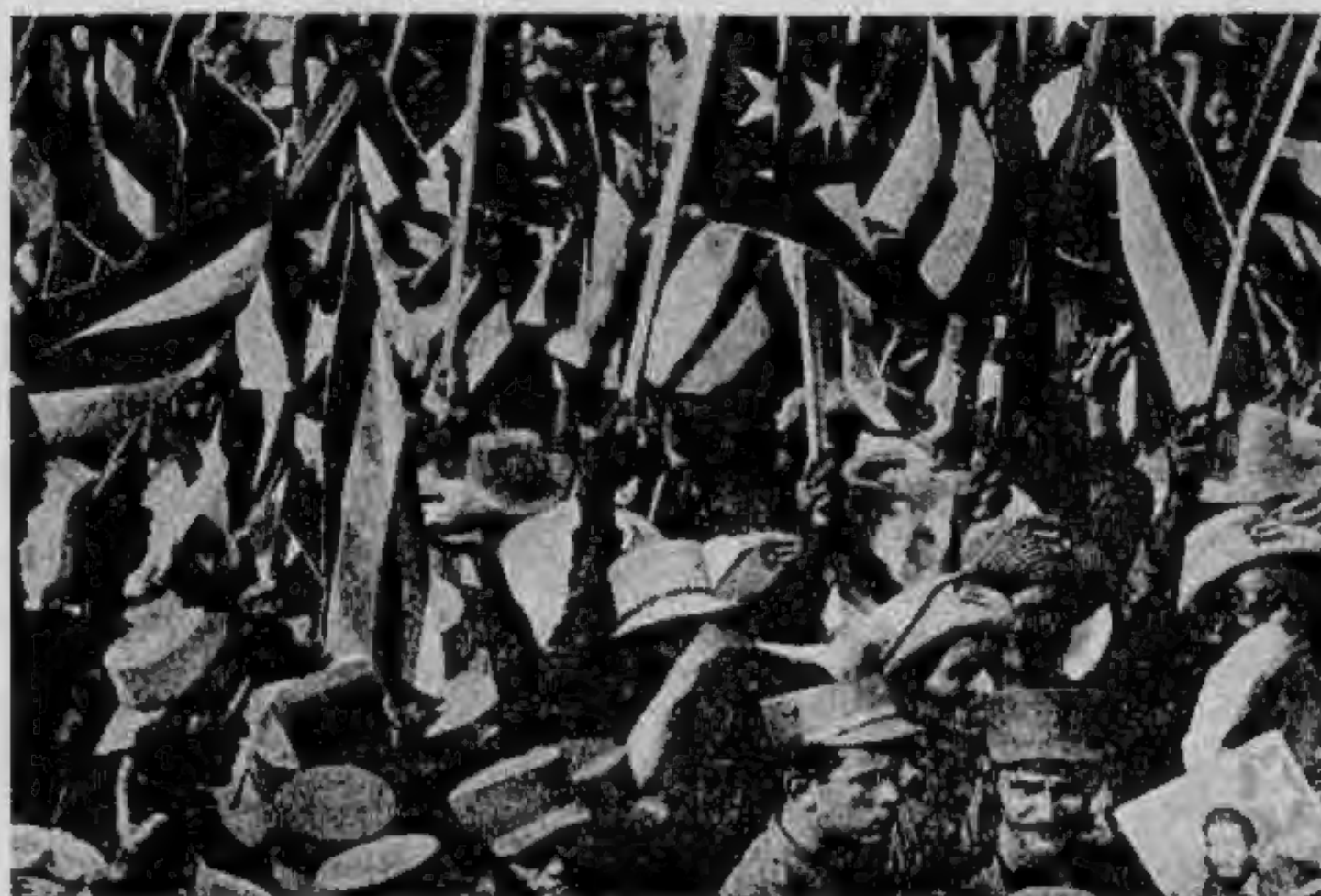
**speaks out on
bureaucracy
and Soviet
diplomacy**

The daily press has noted Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's attack on the governments of the USSR and Eastern Europe for their aid to the oligarchic governments in Latin America. Castro brought out his disagreement with their establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations right into the open in his speech on the 10th anniversary of the abortive student assault on dictator Batista's presidential palace.

"Whoever helps the oligarchies where the guerrillas are fighting is assisting to suppress the revolution, because repressive wars are not only made with arms but also with millions of dollars," he is quoted as saying.

He drove home his point with the challenge "What would the Vietnamese think if we sent a delegation to negotiate with the South Vietnamese government." And with irony noted that the Soviet mission was establishing economic relations with the government of Colombia at the very moment when leaders of the Communist Party of that country were being arrested and offices of the Soviet news agency *Tass* were being raided.

He is also reported to have attacked the leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela for having made a deal with the Venezuelan oligarchy whereby they were released from prison in return for scuttling the guerrilla struggle, subsequently sabotaging and attempting to destroy the successful efforts



to carry on by Commandant Douglas Bravo.

This important speech is not yet available — when it is we will comment on it at length.

An equally important series of speeches by Castro and actions by the Cuban government in recent months have been over-looked — perhaps not accidentally. They have dealt with the question of democracy in Cuba — more specifically with the struggle against bureaucracy.

This struggle which rose early in the Cuban workers state reached its first crisis with the battle against the grouping headed by Anibal Escalante, a functionary inherited from the Communist Party of the prerevolutionary period. The measures instituted in 1962 proved to be inadequate. This testified not only to the stubbornness of the problem but also, perhaps, to an incomplete appreciation among the Cuban leaders of the nature of bureaucracy and what to do about it.

Over the past several months Castro has returned to the problem. *Granma*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Com-

munist party of Cuba, has recently taken up the question in an important way — in an attempt to find a theoretical understanding of bureaucracy. This is demonstrated in a lengthy editorial in two parts that appeared in the March 5 issue of the English-language edition.

Various limitations in the two parts of the editorial will not escape those familiar with the contributions of Leon Trotsky on the subject. In part I of the editorial for instance, the editors of *Granma* fail to explore how the ruling class in capitalist society is able to keep its bureaucrats under control normally. The editorial leaves the impression that it is due to psychological conditioning. This aspect, however, is secondary. The basic means are economic and political. The ruling class can hire and fire and use bribery of the most varied nature, the ultimate in awards being inclusion into their own ranks of occasional individuals from the "lower" levels of society.

In part II of the editorial there is a parallel limitation. Nothing is said about the reasons making it so difficult for the ruling class in a workers state — the ruling class, of course, being the workers — to keep the bureaucrats under control. One of the main reasons pointed out by Trotsky is the comparative lack of political experience among the workers in contrast to the centuries of experience accumulated by the bourgeoisie and carefully handed down from generation to generation.

It would prove instructive for the editors of *Granma* to inquire into the specific case of the Soviet Union where the bureaucracy actually crystallized into a hardened caste and usurped power. The basic material on this is readily available in the works of Trotsky.

The final point to be made is that just as the capitalists find it easier to control their bureaucrats under the conditions of bourgeois democracy, so the workers find it easiest to control *their* bureaucrats under the institutions of proletarian democracy. This was one of the essential means by which the Russian workers carried forward their struggle in both 1905 and 1917. The spe-

cific institution, in addition to a revolutionary party that practiced genuine democracy as well as centralism, was soviets.

After the 1917 Revolution, the soviets continued to serve in Russia as the organs of power, the key institution of workers government. They were among the chief vehicles in fighting the bureaucratic danger and thus became one of the main targets of those seeking to usurp power. They were liquidated under Stalin.

It is to be hoped that the Cuban revolutionists will continue their dual approach to this problem, that is, both on the practical and theoretical level. If they maintain complete objectivity in probing all aspects of the question and do not hesitate to examine what history can really teach in this respect, there is no doubt as to the ultimate conclusion they will reach. Cuba, having opened the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, may yet provide it with an example of proletarian democracy superior to that given the world by the Bolsheviks, who, as the pioneers blazing the trail, faced incomparably greater difficulties.

**Write in for a
SAMPLE COPY OF**

Granma

a weekly review of what is
going on in Cuba, and
Cuban opinion of world
events — in English

**March 4 issue containing
Parts I and II on the struggle
against bureaucracy.**

**Jan. 8 issue containing the
text of Castro's speech on
the 8th anniversary of the
Revolution**

**FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA
COMMITTEE
165 Spadina Ave., Room 30
Toronto**

WORKERS Vanguard

Vol. 11, No. 8 (128) Mid-April, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Int'l War Crimes Tribunal Meets, Seeks Cdn. Aid

BY JEAN LAPLANTE

The first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal is slated to open in Paris and extend over April 26 - May 6. The Tribunal, initiated by the famed mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell, and composed of such eminent international figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Lazaro Cardenas, Vladimir Dedijer, Stokely Carmichael, Isaac Deutscher and Simone de Beauvoir, is investigating allegations of U.S. war crimes against the people of Vietnam.

The sessions which will be open to the world press and invited guests, will hear and accept depositions from individual witnesses as well as specialists, such as Dr. Gustavo Tolentino of Canada, who the Tribunal has sent to examine evidence in Cambodia and Vietnam. It is planned to take place in the Continental Hotel, however a Reuters dispatch of April 11 quotes the director-general of the hotel as saying that "I cancelled the agreement because I am pro-American." Tribunal officials are attempting to straighten out the matter and have expressed confidence that the session will open on schedule.

Despite attempts by the mass media to minimize the importance of the Tribunal, interest in it is growing across Canada. An increasing number of eminent Canadians are giving their names as sponsors of the committee which was formed last month.

The Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal has now set up an office in downtown Toronto and is preparing material for the widest possible circulation. It has already published the official statement of aims and objectives of the Tribunal, and according to its executive secretary, Kenneth

Warren, will be publishing the findings of all the sessions, and other related material.

In response to a request from Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's honorary and executive presidents respectively, the committee is out to raise \$30,000 from Canada, beyond its own expenses.

One of the committee's aims is to encourage and enable all Canadians who have knowledge and experience relevant to the Tribunal's investigations to come forward and offer evidence.

Enquiries about the work of the committee and financial aid should be sent to the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal, Room 6, 758 Yonge Street, Toronto 5.

WORKERS Vanguard

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Drive for Twice-Monthly Headed for Success

by the Editors

While others have been using the bi-national character of Canada and the fact of the oppression of the Quebec people to impede the development of French and English working class unity, the editors of the French language bi-monthly, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, have just made an inspiring demonstration of working class solidarity. They are appealing to their Quebec readers to participate in the fund drive now underway to make the *Vanguard* a twice monthly. Backing up their words with deeds they have forwarded \$230 in cash and they inform us that they already have pledged for as much again.

From every indication we will be publishing the *Workers Vanguard* as a twice monthly—starting October 1st.

The response to our appeal for a minimum of \$8,000 by May 1st to make this possible has been more

immediate and from a wider number than any other appeal that the *Vanguard* and its predecessor *Labor Challenge* have ever made. If we manage to keep up the tempo the success of this campaign is assured. Particularly inspiring has been the reaction of the widening number of youth who have been attracted to the ranks of the *Vanguard* supporters over the past few years. It is obvious that they understand the importance of the revolutionary socialist press and are impatient for the day when we will be a weekly and even a daily.

We had our own ideas as to what could possibly be raised from this rich in enthusiasm but poor in funds expanding force. But even our sanguine estimation fell wide of the mark. In Toronto alone some \$1,875 has been pledged by youth—largely student, yes, high school youth—and

\$1,059 has been turned in. Much of the rest that has been pledged is to be honoured by these youths taking summer jobs and contributing money needed for books, clothing and meals during the next school term. The same situation exists in Vancouver and elsewhere.

Money is coming in to help the *Vanguard* make this giant step forward from "such widely separate areas as Gibsons, up the B.C. coast, right across the country to St. Johns, Newfoundland.

The Toronto campaign director has turned in \$3,351 in hard cash. Vancouver has forwarded \$737.50. The campaign director there informs us that the preparations to make April 15th the largest and most militant demonstration yet against the U.S. counter-revolutionary war on the popular struggle in Vietnam has temporarily slowed down col-

lections. But he is certain that its success, in which the *Vanguard* has played no small part, will see us up and over the top.

Alberta is coming through in its usual fine style — so far \$452.50 has come in from there.

One important aspect of this drive has been the response from a still modest but enlarging number of persons who for various reasons are not activists on a day to day basis in the anti-war, union or socialist movement. But they want to make it possible for others to take the *Vanguard* into the struggle. They are making the building of a strong financial base under the *Vanguard*—as one wise-cracked—their Centennial Project. Everyone can join this effort by sending in his donation at once to *Workers Vanguard Publishing Association*, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto.

#128 Mid-April 1967

WORKERS Vanguard

Published monthly by the Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
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EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

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LSA Proposes United May Day

It is to be hoped that May Day 1967, in Toronto will see a demonstration of solidarity encompassing a wide range of socialist organizations in the city. In a letter dated April 7th, the League for Socialist Action, through its organizer, John Riddell, has appealed for such a united May Day meeting.

The LSA points out that since the Socialist International proclaimed it "a day of demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions", 78 years ago, May 1st has been a day dedicated to labor unity, and international opposition to imperialist war—especially, it is hoped, in 1967, to opposition to the criminal war in Vietnam.

The letter cites the precedent set in

Montréal in 1965 when the Comité de Coordination des Mouvements de Gauche (CCMG), composed of nearly all socialist tendencies, organized a united May Day meeting attended by some 250 people and addressed by, among others, representatives of the Communist Party, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Parti Socialiste de Québec.

While May Day actually originated in the United States, the authorities both there and in Canada have always conspired to convince the majority that it is something "foreign" and "alien". Partly because of this it has not been a day generally recognized by the labor movement as a whole. Not intimidated, socialists have continued the tradition to the best of their ability, although the impact of May Day

celebrations has been diluted by the myriad separate functions usually held by different groups.

In seeking to get the various tendencies to put aside their differences for a united May Day meeting, the LSA is particularly concerned that this be accomplished in the face of the new escalation of the Vietnam war and the demagogic attempts of U.S. President Johnson to turn May 1st into "Loyalty Day"—the "loyalty" being of course to Wall Street.

Copies of the letter have been sent to: the Communist Party, Progressive Workers Movement, the Sudetenland NDP Club, the United Jewish Peoples Order, the Spanish and Portuguese Canadian Democratic Associations, and the Workmen's Circle, among others.

CELEBRATE MAY DAY AT THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION Banquet

SATURDAY, APRIL 29
Vancouver: at 6.30

1208 Granville Street
Toronto: at 6.00
Lansdowne Hall (at Queen)
Admission \$3 - Students \$2

Published monthly by the Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
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EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

The Power & Dilemma

With this issue we are publishing the first of three instalments of an article dealing with the tasks and perspectives of the Canadian trade union movement. Upon completion it will appear as a pamphlet with the cover as reproduced elsewhere on this page.

30 per cent of all non-agricultural paid workers—1,736,000 persons at January 1966 were members of trade unions. Three quarters of them belonged to unions affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress (AFL-CIO). The largest group outside of the CLC, the Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions, accounted for 188,000—slightly less than one third of the total number of trade unionists in Quebec.

These unions appear as a tremendous social force across the country. They are the most powerful single organization, both real and potential, that those who live by their labor have yet created.

Organized at the point of production, they intervene on a day-to-day basis, largely on a local but on occasion, and increasingly so, on a national and even international scale, to defend and extend the interests of their members and the entire working class against capital—against those who own and control the means of production and exploit them for their own purposes.

The mere fact of the existence of the trade unions testifies to the reality of the class nature of Canadian society. The ceaseless efforts of capital to destroy them, to fetter them with oppressive legislation, and failing that, to corrupt them, is irrefutable proof of the reality of the class struggle—that there is an irreconcilable, ceaseless, conflict between labor and capital in this country.

The unions have not been able to remain as combinations of workers of one employer, or even groups of employers in associated industries. They have developed from a unity of workers against a particular employer to unity against employers in one whole field of production, to unity of workers in entire areas. They form a massive unified network from union local, to national, to international union—from local to area council, from provincial to the federal level—to the CLC with its 1½ million members. Recognition has had to be made, even if largely formal, to the international character of labor's struggle and the need for its world-wide co-ordination.

Project New Society

The union movement has proven itself to be a powerful instrument of a defensive character and as a force that poses the possibility of a fundamental transformation in socio-economic relations—from wage labor to a free association of labor and common ownership of its product—socialism.

As early as 1919 the working people of Winnipeg, arising from their common interest in the defence of a group of locked-out metal workers, waged a general strike which in its development created a new and revolutionary pole of social-political power—the Winnipeg General Strike Committee, which completely controlled the city for 41 days. It is no accident that many participants and observers from the ranks of both its supporters and opponents saw in this development a parallel to the workers' councils (soviets) that arose and seized power in Russia and took on embryonic form in other European centers in that period.

A massive strike wave broke out at the close of World War II in defiance of all the war-time restrictions that had been clamped upon the unions with the agreement of the union leadership. In wave after wave it swept up the entire organized labor movement to ring up the largest across-the-board wage increase ever, and to consolidate unionism on a higher plane. The mighty Ford strike demonstrated the revolutionary temper and ingenuity of the working class, their readiness to meet head-on the violence of the state. The threat by an army of

RCMPers to break up the picket line was countered with an impenetrable barricade, a wall of steel. The workers commandeered public vehicles, trucks, cars, with which they jammed the highway stretching down the front of the main plant, to paralyze the police and win the strike.

Twice in the last two years the working class of two key sections of the country have advanced up to the very edge of general strike—in Quebec and in the province of British Columbia.

While capital continues to harass and persecute individual militants to resort to the use of scabs and spies, to employ police to terrorize and smash up picket lines, with the rise of the modern labor movement, its broader unity, its increased organization and its tremendous resources, they have come to rely to an ever-increasing extent upon the state.

What labor has won through battles on the picket lines and through the enforcement of the contractual rights it has established in the shops, has often been lost, due, not only to the operation of the laws governing the capitalist system itself, inflation for instance, but to counter attacks by the representatives of the employers as a class in control of parliament, and the state in its totality.

The Power of the State

The employers, through their agents in control of parliament and the entire state apparatus, have erected a whole network of laws and regulations designed to hamstring the labor movement. Anti-labor regulations such as the BC Social Credit's Bill 43 have been characterized by the most conservative labor leaders as "fascistic". They not only bar the use of information pickets but secondary boycotts, and have decreed the unions to be legal entities responsible for the actions of every individual member. But not the least of the union-busting laws are those which the union leadership itself has come to live with—those embedded in labor relations acts—all the way from the various regulations designed to make it difficult for unions to establish the fact that they represent a majority of a specific group of workers, to those which only permit strike action after a long process of delay, that not only make it illegal to strike within the life of contracts, to the ever-increasing use of ex parte injunctions forbidding or limiting pickets, and the extension of compulsory arbitration to ever wider areas of the work force.

On the basis of their own experiences and in part due to the influence of the British working class movement there has long been a broad strata of union leaders and rank and file activists who have favored the formation of a political arm for labor in this country. If there was any doubt about the direction of these forces with the dissolution of the socialist-oriented but largely agrarian-based CCF, the successful birth of the New Democratic Party three years ago as a labor party, with firm roots in the trade unions, was assured by the Liberal-Tory and SC anti-labor drive. With the recent solid successes in the major urban areas across the country any concept of the NDP as a pressure instrument on the Liberals and Tories in office has been smashed. The Canadian working class through their unions are firmly committed to the building of the NDP as an alternative to the parties of Big Business and to the election of an NDP government into office in both Ottawa and the provinces.

Between 1935 and 1966 trade union membership increased more than six fold—from 281,000 to 1,736,000. In these three decades there were four major periods of rapid expansion. In 1936 and 1937, which saw the rise of the CIO, union membership increased 15 and 19 per cent respectively. The next major jump came during the war—with 1941 seeing an increase of 27 per cent and 25.5 per cent in 1942. The post war upsurge saw an increase in membership in 1946 of 17 per cent and 9.7 per cent in 1947.

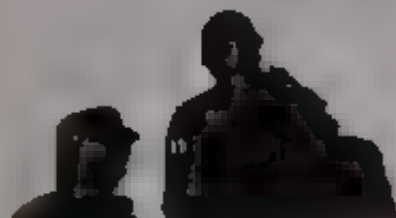
→ to page 2

of the Trade Unions



The Power & Dilemma of the TRADE UNIONS

by P. Kent



But in recent years as a proportion of the work force union membership has been decreasing. By 1962 the proportion of the work force in unions dropped from 33 per cent to 32 per cent. By 1963 the decline had continued to 30 per cent. By 1964, it was 29.4 per cent.

Deteriorating Position

Organized labor is not only weaker in relation to the growth of the work force but it is weaker from a strategic point of view. Unionism hasn't yet really broken out of the basic industries. Between 1947 and 1949 there was virtually no net change in the employment levels in the goods-producing industries despite the fact that the actual quantity of goods being produced doubled. During that period however there was an increase of new jobs in the service industries by a million. By 1958 the number of jobs in the service sector was larger than in the goods-producing industries. In 1958 the margin was 68,000—by 1963 it had grown to 771,000.

It is in this area that the tremendous expansion of the number of women in the work force has taken place. The number of women in retail and wholesale trade grew from 1950 to 1959 by more than 50 per cent. By June 1965 women workers in the service industries had surpassed men to 51.9 per cent of the total.

The present leadership of the union movement, with vast sums of money at its disposal and skilful technicians at its beck and call, has proven incapable of moving into these most rapidly expanding and often most poorly paid sectors of the work force, thus permitting a

serious deterioration in the strategic position of the union movement to take place. It has failed women miserably.

Large layers of these workers, poorly paid and helpless before the onslaughts of inflation, the dangers of sickness, all the insecurities that are products of capitalist society, have fallen prey to the capitalist-inspired propaganda that the union movement is a narrow, a sectional power bloc, insensitive to their needs and concerned only with its own welfare.

The static situation in the producing industries, where expansion has been largely through technological changes, and the increasing tendency of the leadership to settle for so-called fringe benefits, including pensions, retirement funds, few of them portable, rather than wage increases, has alienated the younger workers. There has been a distinct tendency for the unions to deteriorate from combat organizations of the class into welfare organizations for older workers upon whom the administration has come to base itself. The unions under the present leadership have failed the youth.

For the first time in decades organized labor has suffered a series of setbacks. Just as the decrease in the percentage of workers who are actually organized is not due in any way to an organizational saturation point having been reached, but to a failure on the part of the present leadership, so too these setbacks do not reflect any decline in the combativity of the ranks, but a failure of leadership.

Two notable defeats were those suffered by the Royal York Hotel workers and the workers at the Lever Brothers plant in Toronto. These setbacks all the more point up the failure in leadership in that they took place in an area where organized labor has its greatest concentration of strength. Even more startling is the situation confronting the oldest continuing local in the country—International Typographical Union, Local 91—which has been locked in struggle in Canada's first automation strike with the Big Three Toronto dailies for three years now.

Crisis of Leadership

The entry of the CIO onto the Canadian arena and the organization of key basic industry along industrial lines threw up a whole new layer of leaders. Unlike the long-time secure craft business unionists, many of them rose out of the ranks, and many were radicals. With the coming of the Second World War this leadership collaborated with the bosses in the introduction under the union auspices of piece work and speed-up. With the close of the war, when the employers ended this honeymoon and strode out to smash the unions, the ranks proved able to overcome all the leadership's hesitations, to turn back the union busters and even establish new gains.

Frustrated in their frontal attack, Big Business launched a co-ordinated coast to coast legal assault on labor. Instead of taking up this challenge, meeting it head-on, the leadership preached caution. When as in BC a massive cry went up against Bill 43 and for general strike, the leadership preached submission until the next election. The impact of this legislation is graphically portrayed in the following figures

	union membership	work force	% of work force
1958	233,972	434,000	53.9%
1959	219,279	452,000	48.1%
1964	226,690	531,000	42.7%

As the figures show, the failure of the leadership to mobilize the unions against the union-busting laws has not only resulted in a drastic decline in the strength of the organized labor movement as a percentage of the work force, but in absolute numbers

(Continued next issue)

BANFF SEMINAR HEARS L.S.A.

On Nationalism

BANFF — 75 Young New Democrats met here May 7 in their second annual western regional conference to discuss the question of "Economic Nationalism".

As Alberta NDY president Ken Novakowski pointed out, the federal NDP convention this summer will likely adopt the "nationalist" proposals of Prof. Charles Taylor — thus the topic's importance for NDPers.

It was first guest speaker Allan Engler's talk which set the tone for much of the subsequent debate. Engler, west coast editor of the *Workers Vanguard*, demonstrating that Canadian capital interests are basically complementary to U.S. capital, not in conflict, drew attention to the massive class contradictions within the Canadian state. He declared that if Canadian socialists were to adopt a "nationalist" program, they "would enter a trap". Not only would they be ignoring or underestimating the important role of the Canadian capitalist class, itself imperialist and in firm control of the Canadian state; they would disorient the left, sucking it into reactionary adventures. He cited the case of a BC union which, having broken from its "international" on a supposedly radical "nationalist" program, now has Social Creditors on its executive and openly calls for government intervention to "free" Canadian workers from American control.

Engler pointed out that leading "nationalist" proponents recognize that the NDP's very existence shows the lack of perspective for a multi-

class, nationalist-oriented political movement. They seek to substitute national for class consciousness. But the only answer to imperialist domination is public ownership of industry and establishment of socialist planning.

Federal NDY President Terry Morley, following Engler, counterposed his own nationalist "strategy" because he wanted "something a whole lot different from the United States".

Colin Cameron, MP, devoted much of his speech to a pathetic attempt to define the "unique values" which distinguish Canada. He advocated a closer, "more rational partnership" between government and industry and attacked proposals for widespread nationalization as "utopian" and "bureaucratic". As John Gallagher pointed out, Cameron's proposals for "regulation" of private enterprise, besides being impractical — witness the Harold Wilson regime — would do nothing to resolve the class struggle.

Canadian Dimension editor Cy Gonick defended widespread public ownership but undercut this by calling for an independent nationalist movement, comprising all classes, based on a common minimum program. He rejected the NDP as the major vehicle for his program because of its ties with the international unions. He claimed such a movement could "politicize" the people and give the NDP a mandate for radical social change, that it would inevitably lead people to socialist conclusions by exposing the inadequacies of "capitalist Nationalism".

Others countered that such a movement would more likely attract small businessmen and intellectuals than workers. Only Gonick professed to show that the nationalist position had the potential of popular support. As one speaker commented from the floor, the insubstantial character of this "nationalism" was revealed by the very arguments advanced in its favor.

It is not surprising that the majority of the youthful participants showed little willingness to take up the cudgels for economic nationalism. It remains to be seen what reaction this supposed panacea will receive at the coming federal NDP convention.

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EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

PART 2 of 3

The Power & Dilemma

With this issue we are publishing the second of three instalments of an article dealing with the tasks and perspectives of the Canadian trade union movement. Upon completion it will appear as a pamphlet.

What is wrong with the present leadership of the Canadian labor movement that it has failed to effectively mobilize the mighty forces of the Canadian working class to fend off the legal assault on their unions, that it has failed to organize the unorganized, that, with all the resources at its disposal, it has permitted a relative and in some areas an absolute decline in the strength of the unions to take place? It is true that the leadership is a relatively privileged strata, with considerable wealth at its disposal, secure in its position, and thus concerned that there be no undue upset in the present state of affairs. But the problem is more profound than that.

In the past few years court injunctions restricting and barring picketing have been successful in gravely weakening and even smashing an increasing number of union locals. The CLC leadership decided to stage a showdown at the struck Thompson newspaper in the union stronghold of Oshawa. Its demonstration of strength in defiance of the law, found the attorney general and provincial premier disclaiming any responsibility to uphold this class legislation, and the company, with the agreement of the courts, withdrawing its court order.

Only a matter of weeks later in a similar situation in nearby Peterboro, when an injunction was read and 28 arrested, the top brass ordered the demobilization of their controlled demonstration with the aim of arguing the matter on strictly legal terms in the courts. The top leadership carried their line in the face of a powerful protest at the Winnipeg CLC convention and a demand from the floor for massive passive resistance to the union busting injunctions. Even more shameful was the CLC leadership's response to the militant challenges against strikebreaking injunctions that developed in B.C. and resulted in the jailing of four of the B.C. Federation's leadership. The latter's heroic defiance of the courts and the response that their principled conduct won from the ranks for mass action brought the CLC machine into action alright. But only to isolate and quench every spark of militancy.

Bankruptcy of Present Leadership

As these events reveal, the leadership of Canada's union movement is essentially reformist in its outlook. Its support of the NDP flows not so much from a desire to supplement militant on-the-job action with aggressive political action, but to substitute periodic visits to the ballot box for such militant action. In the place of a revolutionary, of a class struggle opposition to capitalism, the strategy that shaped the foundations of the labor movement and upon which it has risen to its present state of power, they stand for a peaceful coexistence policy with capitalism.

Its strategy in the fight against injunctions is to win the courts and the judges, with fine legal argument, over to the side of labor. And that is its policy with regard to parliament and the state. The bureaucracy hopes to neutralize the state which it sees as having only temporarily fallen into the hands of agents of the monopolists, with some elements

aiming to win it over to their side and even fill it with their content. That is why it has no qualms about urging state intervention in strictly union affairs.

The CLC leadership, with the support of the entire working class press—except that of the socialist *Workers Vanguard*—demanded that the government overcome its show of reluctance and intervene in a strictly internal union matter by imposing a trusteeship on the SIU and the Great Lakes seamen. They demanded the government enforce the law to the limit against the seamen who marched in protest against government interference in their internal affairs. They have continued to uphold the government trusteeship in the face of the dangers that it holds for organized labor as clearly voiced by its own representative on the board of trustees.

Because of its orientation this trade union leadership, which sees itself as part of the established order of things, poses the gravest peril to democracy within the union movement. It was with complete consistency with its lengthy record that the CLC leadership underwrote the old national leadership of the Canadian Postal Employees Association and fronted for the Liberal government against the rank and file during the 18 day national postal workers strike last summer. Thanks to the Montreal local leaders who had patiently built rank-and-file connections across the country the CLC leadership were defeated, the old postal leadership routed, and unionism is now spreading through the civil servants. It was no accident that important CLC leaders publicly approved of a trusteeship imposed on a Toronto local by an American international leadership at the head of which stands James Hoffa, a man whose actions they would never normally approve, regardless of their possible merit.

This clique, this bureaucracy that encrusts the trade union movement heads up a great multiplicity of expensive and unwieldy organizations of a widely diverse character. It is a labyrinth of conflicting clique interests with overlapping jurisdictions which result in all kinds of divisive conflicts that weaken labor in the face of the enemy. Some unions are strictly national formations, others are international. Some of the latter are set up along Canadian district lines, which assure considerable autonomy for the Canadian machinery, and others are so much under the domination of the international leadership that even the business agents are imposed upon them.

Alternatives to the Present Situation

This situation has led some to see the key problem as being largely organizational and to project structural changes as the solution.

Bureaucracy is as rife in some syndicalist, anti-political-oriented unions as it is in the unions most active in promotion of political action in their ranks. Nor does largeness or smallness appear to have any significant bearing on the question. In fact it is the extremely wide diversity in structure and structural relations, and yet the general prevalence of bureaucracy, that shows the irrelevancy of such a concept. While there are no doubt many structural changes that could be made in the interest of assuring a democratic milieu and a greater fighting unity, the granting to the CLC more constitutional authority over its affiliates, as some propose at this time, would not heighten the fighting unity of labor against capital. Quite the contrary.

The cry for Canadian trade union autonomy has also been raised as

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of the Trade Unions

a panacea. The Canadian Communist Party has not only called for autonomy but has used what influence it has had to encourage some Canadian breakaways from international unions and the constitution of separate national unions. Aside from the question of the viability of such bodies they have not in any way proved immune to the virus of bureaucracy. There are Canadian, strictly Canadian unions that are as bureaucratically controlled as any international union. While in general the American trade union movement is more bureaucracy ridden, this virus is not peculiar to the United States, slipping into this country via personnel of the internationally affiliated unions.

Should we draw a balance sheet of the pluses and minuses of the American connection? On the plus side the amount of money kicked back to support Canadian strikes; the influence that Canadian members of an international union can hope to have in promoting an American Labor Party; the fact that the votes of the Canadian district membership of the United Steelworkers were decisive in the defeat of the Donald MacDonald-led machine; the preparations of Auto and Steel to mobilize their U.S. forces to bring Canadian members' wages up to parity with U.S. wages; the intervention of the International prohibiting Toronto mailers from accepting a contract that would undermine national and international newspaper standards. And on the minus side, the imposition of international roadmen on Canadian affiliates, control over international strike funds and authority over strikes, etc.

The mere process of attempting to work out all the pluses and minuses and to strike a balance only exposes the absurdity of it all. The method is false. It is sterile, for it fails to take into account the dynamics of the struggle. It is all the more absurd in that the major sectors of industrial capital in Canada are in firm alliance with or are controlled by the same monopolists with whom the more concentrated and more powerful U.S. unions are in conflict.

The fact that the struggle for democracy in the unions is a primary task before the workers of the United States, as well as Canada, demonstrates that it has nothing to do with some national peculiarities, but flows from a common source—the increasing intervention of the bourgeois democratic state in the internal affairs of the union movement and the tendency of a growing together of the trade unions with the state.

To break out of the straightjacket it is necessary to win the unions to a revolutionary orientation, to give them a class struggle program and to forge a new leadership. This is the crucial task; to work in the unions as they are now constituted, to transform them into instruments for the establishment of a new social order. The situation is becoming increasingly more favorable for success.

The Rising New Militancy

Over the past year there has been a sharp rise in the number of strikes and the number of workers involved right across the country. The strikes have been extremely militant. They have been taking place in a period of general boom, rising wages, considerable job mobility, etc.

In Quebec they have been unfolding wave upon wave. Entire new layers of workers, including a high percentage of white collar and professional workers, have joined labor's ranks. They have not been

solicited to join, rather they have knocked down the door in their demand for admission. They are bringing into the Quebec movement a verve, a new dynamism which will infect all Canadian labor.

A highly significant number of strikes in other parts of the country have been wildcats—many of them violent repudiations of agreements solemnly negotiated by the leadership, others explosive outbursts against the failure of the union leadership to respond to accumulated grievances.

So prevalent has the revolt become that various top leaders have felt called upon to publicly comment on it. President Little of the Canadian Union of Public Employees admitted that there was a lack of rapport between the leadership and the ranks which he attributes to inadequacy in the unions' education program—for the ranks of course. CBRT Secretary-treasurer Secord attributed it to the surge of new workers into the union and a growing gap between them and the leaders. He noted back in 1963 that about 50% of the membership were not in the union during the strike 13 years earlier. Steel director Mahoney attributes it to the fact that "there is less and less satisfaction on the job and more uncertainty about the role of the worker and his place in the social scheme".

Steel director Mahoney's comment "on the mood of rebellion to be found today" is only a reflection of the profound rejection by an increasing number of workers of the routinist and thoroughly reformist policies of the trade union bureaucracy. They also show the developing receptivity of a widening layer of workers for an alternative, a revolutionary program.

Wage increases, hard fought wage increases to meet the rising cost of living, are being wiped out time and again by inflation. The profit gouging of the monopolists hoisted the cost of living 3.7% last year. The finance minister has recently announced that the cost of living will skyrocket another 4% this coming year.

In its running commentaries on the day-to-day problems confronting the trade unions, the *Workers Vanguard* has proposed the answer—the sliding scale of wages. Protect past wage increases and preserve the fighting strength of labor for new gains by inserting an escalator clause in every union contract! Such a clause will guarantee automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living.

But the workers want more than to defend themselves from the situation—they want to know why! They are not only questioning their own place in the social scheme, as Mahoney noted, but the place of others, and the social scheme itself.

NDP leader Douglas gave voice to this sentiment in his recent appeal to the government to constitute a prices review board. He outlined that "such a board would be able to examine the books, the profit and loss statements, and the cost accounting material of the particular industries concerned, in order to find out whether or not increased wage costs and increased costs of raw materials warranted the increase which is being imposed on the public". Mr. Douglas left it to the government, whose anti-combines regulations have operated as licenses to practice, and expressed his proposals with studied impartiality, as one who of course accepts the sanctity of capitalist ownership of great industrial enterprises.

(Completed in the coming issue)

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Hit Widening Expulsions By Ont. NDP Leadership

The expulsion drive is expanding, and so too must the campaign to restore democracy in the NDP. This was the conclusion of a meeting of 50 NDP activists held in Toronto May 28 by the committee to defend the twelve recently expelled members of the Ontario NDP.

Gary Porter (Ottawa Center) reported on the appeal of the expelled to the sparsely attended NDP provincial council meeting in Sudbury, May 13-14. The case was a clear violation of the traditions of party democracy, he said, in which the leadership had arrogated to itself the right to expel any member without giving cause, laying charges, giving evidence or granting any form of hearing or appeal. The expulsions had been opposed by a broad range of party opinion, including two MP's, Herbert Herridge and Colin Cameron, two Ontario area councils, nine riding associations and hundreds of concerned party members across the country.

But far from giving the expelled a fair trial and redressing the injustice, Porter continued, the council barred them from its sessions, approved the expulsions, and even gave the executive the go-ahead for the expulsion of another 13 unnamed party members!

Particularly disturbing was the last-minute attempts of the leadership to brand the expelled with the witch-hunt charge of "membership in another political party". The June 1967 *New Democrat* reports as

justification for the approval of the expulsions by the council:

"It was found that they belonged to, worked for, or in other ways indicated their support for the League for Socialist Action and its youth branch, the Young Socialist Forum, — the Trotskyist movement in Canada."

John Riddell, Toronto organizer of the LSA, explained to the meeting that far from being a political party, the LSA is an organization of socialists who fully support the NDP. In view of the failure of the NDP to adopt a socialist program and direction, the LSA holds that socialists have the responsibility to organize to present their own viewpoint publicly and win the NDP to socialism. He called on all socialists to unite to further this work.

Meanwhile, the ominous trend to expulsions has spread to Quebec, where the leadership of the New Democratic Youth, which prides itself on its "socialist principles" has expelled Penny Simpson, a noted spokesman for the socialist left in the NDY.

Stewart Sinclair (Davenport & UAW-1967) announced plans at the meeting for continuing the campaign. A pamphlet is being prepared, he said, of the speeches at the meeting and other statements on the case, which would be printed for distribution to the federal convention. The expelled would be calling on delegates to the federal convention to take a stand against the expulsions and firmly reassert the basic principles of party democracy.

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L.A. Solidarity Congress Faces Che's Challenge

By Ross Dowson

LA HABANA — Everywhere, on the outskirts and along the highways they are often crudely done, throughout the city they are usually well designed and printed, signs and declarations continue to spring up hailing OLAS and proclaiming the necessity for armed struggle. A massive sign now stretches right across the top of the entrance to the Habana Libre Hotel. Along the bottom portion is a version of that famous photograph portraying Fidel and his comrades, their guns raised in triumph high into the air. Across the top hands stretch down to grasp the guns, and spelled out along its length is the slogan of the 2nd. Declaration of Havana: "It is the duty of revolutionists to make the revolution."

All the guests are being cleared out of the Habana Libre for it is the site of the first conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS). The delegates will soon be arriving for the sessions which commence July 28 and extend to August 5.

OLAS came out of the Tricontinental conference that met in Havana in January 1966. It was formed by the delegates of the 26 Latin American groups which attended the Tricontinental, as exclusively Latin American, and completely independent of the Tricontinental.

There was considerable doubt, because of the widely disparate forces involved, that the Tricontinental world or could apply the main line of the declaration that it adopted. In its summons to the coming conference OLAS declares as its "duty to carry out the (Tricontinental) resolution which proclaimed the right of the peoples to face the

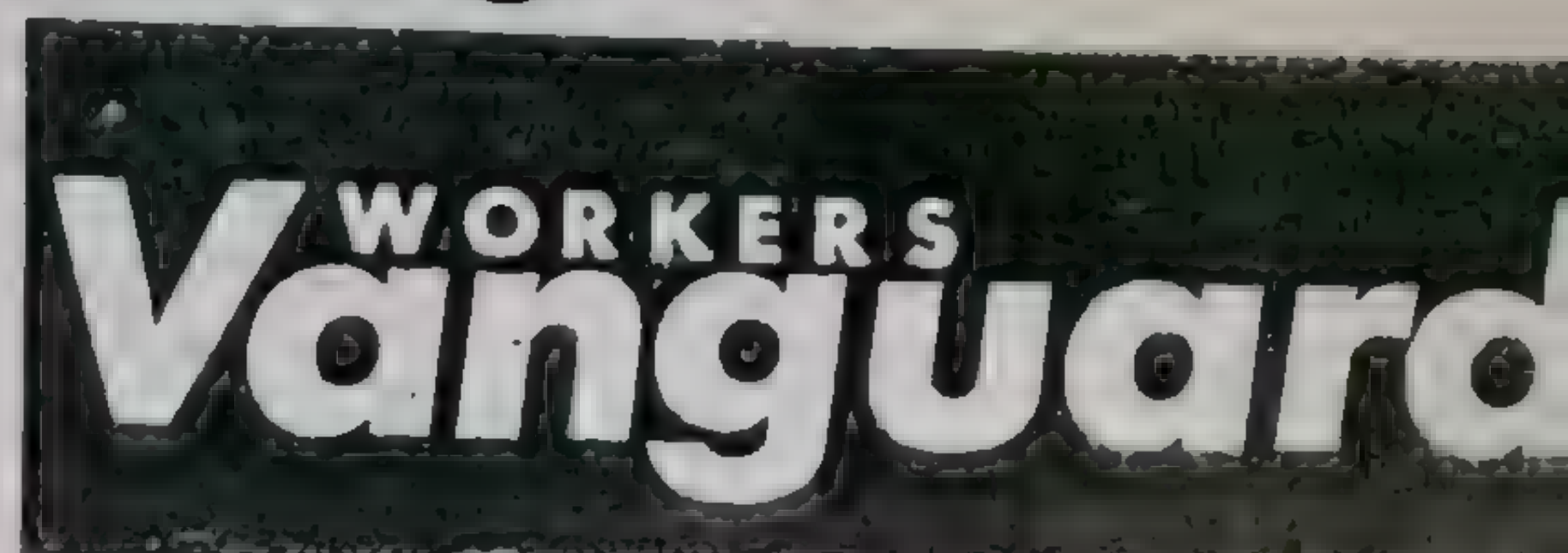
violence of imperialism and reaction with revolutionary violence."

The statement issued by the OLAS organizational committee on February 15 of this year commits it to promoting mutual support to "especially the peoples waging armed struggle." The summons to the conference clearly declares as its aim "not to hold just another formal gathering to express our collective discontent, but rather this time to face the global strategy of the enemy with a bold strategy of the peoples."

Che Guevara outlined such a strategy in his recent letter to the Tricontinental which has received world-wide attention. Che characterized the war in Vietnam as the center of confrontation between the colonial sectors and American imperialism. Protesting the failure of the Soviet and Chinese leaderships to unite in effective support of the Vietnamese people, who he praised for their valor and stoicism, he calls for more Vietnams in Latin America — a coordination of armed struggles that will "make the repressive actions of Yankee imperialism more difficult and help their own cause".

Che scored the indigenous bourgeoisies of Latin America as having lost all capacity to oppose imperialism — and as constituting only a source of supplies for it. "No other revolution can be made; it's either a socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution."

Earlier, in his notable March 13 speech, Fidel scored those forces in Latin America who advance the line of class collaboration and peaceful coexistence with the native bourgeoisies, and even the military oligarchies. He singled out on that occasion the leadership of the Vene-



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zuelan Communist Party and openly aligned himself with the dissident guerrilla leader Douglas Bravo.

The delegates to OLAS will find not only the Cuban leadership firmly behind the armed struggle, but the Cuban people too. Everywhere there are signs of all kinds, sizes, and shapes, calling for the armed struggle. Che's portrait is everywhere — even more prevalent than Fidel's. It was into this atmosphere that the Soviet prime minister stepped, fresh from his tribute to the UN and U.S. President Johnson. Kosygin received a cool reception from the Cuban leadership. The press gave the barest minimum coverage to the visit.

There are rumours here that certain Communist Parties, probably the Venezuelan and Columbian, are attempting to form a block against the conference. But if the rumours are true the block would appear to have been broken. The Uruguayan, Argentinian and Chilean CP's are now reported as coming.

The Cuban leadership is firmly committed. Whatever the outcome, this OLAS conference will mark an important turning point in the alignment of revolutionary forces on the key Latin American continent.

Labor Councils Defy Smear by CLC Brass

By P. Kent

The Halifax, Dartmouth and District Labour Council (CLC) has joined the world-wide campaign for amnesty for the Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

In a letter dated June 29 General Secretary Charles Grineault, on behalf of the Halifax council appealed to President Fernando Belaunde Terry to "recognize the value of this man not only to Peru but to the world", and grant him full amnesty. He asked the Peruvian ambassador in Ottawa to take cognizance "of the mounting degree of disapproval in Canada at this miscarriage of justice."

Only a few weeks earlier the Calgary Labour Council (CLC) added its protest by endorsing the appeal for amnesty for Blanco and his comrades. Both the Nova Scotia and Alberta actions follow up a strong appeal that the Quebec Federation of Labour (CLC) issued to all its affiliates.

Information of the Quebec Federation's stand and details on the case were circulated to all labour councils in the country over the signatures of Kenneth McNaught and Kenneth Walker of the University of Toronto, Kenneth Golby of York University, and Robert Mc-

Carthy of the U of T school of graduate studies. They pointed out that many eminent Canadian unionists have joined the protest.

Nowadays no unionist can remain silent when brother workers elsewhere are being suppressed by the police, the business interests and the landed oligarchy and their political hirelings. When Canadian anti-labor business interests, with vast investments in Latin America, are frantically helping to shore up reactionary regimes, Canadian unionists' solidarity with the oppressed there is a vital need and a duty.

But that is not the way the top brass of the Canadian Congress of Labour, ensconced in Ottawa see it. Although approached shortly after the QFL endorsed the case, and considerably before the various labor councils were approached, they delayed responding with the excuse of "the necessity of securing reliable information."

They didn't approach the Italian General Confederation of Labor or the leading French unions that have endorsed the Blanco case, not to speak of the Chilean labor movement. CLC Secretary-treasurer Donald MacDonald declares that he sought information from none other than the International Confedera-

tion of Free Trade Unions, which only a few months earlier had been exposed as being on the payroll of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

As to be expected, the information that MacDonald passes on—it has apparently been circulated to labor councils across the country—is nothing but a rehash of the charges of the prosecution. It is a compendium of the lies of the tyrant landowners, the venal police and the corrupt military of Peru—the friends and associates of Canadian bosses with investments in Peru.

When asked for a copy or photostat of the ICFTU-ORIT material, after sneering that Canadian supporters of the Blanco case might have been well advised to have sought information (from such CIA sources) earlier, MacDonald states that he does "not feel at liberty to give circulation to it outside the legitimate Canadian trade union movement."

Fortunately the Halifax and the Calgary labor councils, and we are confident that there will be other labor councils, did not accept such "information" but took a firm stand on the longstanding labor principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

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**WORKERS
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EDITOR: ROSS DOWSON

PART 3 of 3

The Power & Dilemma

With this issue we are completing a series of three instalments of an article dealing with the tasks and perspectives of the Canadian trade union movement. All three articles, with an introduction, will appear in pamphlet form shortly.

As Big Business attempts to narrow the area of collective bargaining, the trade union militants must fight to widen it and to open up the entire process of capitalist production and distribution to their scrutiny. The trade union bureaucracy and their counterparts in the top leadership of the NDP talk about planning but their planning not only comes up to a halt before the concept of government ownership, it contains no element at all of involvement of the workers.

The workers have the right to know the secrets of a factory, of a trust, of an entire industry, of the whole economy, built by their labor. Open the books! Abolish all business secrets! Open the maze of deals and swindles that flow from capitalist anarchy and the shameless pursuit of profits. Extend the authority of the unions in the direction of factory committees and towards actual control of industry.

While the technological revolution called automation is developing unevenly through the Canadian economy it has unleashed a wave of grave anxiety through the ranks of the working class. What is going to happen to older workers? To the vast majority of workers? To trades and skills so patiently acquired? And what training and education, if any, is worth acquiring in the face of this revolution?

In contrast to the NDP and trade union leadership who continue to talk in terms of education of what would be a narrow elite, the world famous scientist Sir Geoffrey Vickers told a Toronto audience that we need to find a way "to distribute goods and services free, according to need" — "a social revolution", as he called it.

To guarantee that the inventive genius of man benefit all of society, and not a small clique of monopolists, the unions must win a sliding scale of hours. Everyone has a right to work. Share the leisure and the increased wealth that can come with the full implementation of automation by instituting a continually diminishing work week with no loss in pay!

The single most important advance of Canadian labor in recent decades is the rise and consolidation of the NDP as a labor party. So far the trade union bureaucracy have succeeded in curtailing union participation in the NDP. They have given the unions as their main function, the provisioning of funds for the party machine.

For the bureaucracy, the labor party is an attempt to overcome their weakness on the economic front — to increase their points of pressure on the big business interests. It is not a supplement but a substitute for the mobilization of the unions behind a class struggle program on a day to day basis.

For the workers, independent labor political action is the beginning of their intervention into affairs that determine every single aspect of

their lives and the future of their children. The labor party is a result of their increasing awareness that political decisions, now made in the overall interests of the employers as a class in control of the state apparatus, determine: who shall bear the main tax burden, mortgage rates, the character of education, the extent and nature of welfare legislation, etc. Politics determine the very circumstances under which the factory or office at which they work functions, the commitment of the country's wealth, including participation in such aggressive military alliances as NATO and NORAD and support both political and material of Washington's war of aggression in Vietnam, in fact not only how we live but whether we will continue to live or be destroyed in the nuclear holocaust.

Last year's CLC convention was confronted with the submission of 25 resolutions on international affairs. While the position adopted on Vietnam was scarcely more critical of Washington's perilous policies than the Liberal government's, nonetheless it testifies to the broadening outlook of the working class in the wider, the overriding issues of our time.

The local unions must intervene fully in the NDP. They must do all in their power to elect NDP governments in the provinces and in Ottawa. They must demand reports from the NDP MP's, pass resolutions for their guidance, raise the entire political level of the membership to assure that the NDP not only gives voice to the needs of the workers but sensitively reflects and functions entirely in their interests.

The Conflict with Bureaucracy

The trade union bureaucracy, while it has considerable material resources and an extensive machine at its disposal, has no independent base of its own. It is suspended between the workers and the employers. It attempts to maintain a balance between these irreconcilable forces.

In so far as the trade union bureaucracy challenges the employers — that is — in so far as it is independent of them — it must base itself on the workers who sustain the unions for the protection they afford them. In so far as it hopes to be accepted by the capitalists, the bureaucracy must prove its ability to perform a useful function for them — essentially that of being their lieutenants in the ranks of the working class.

The past few years have seen a growing conflict between the ranks and the leadership. This phenomenon has become so widespread that personnel supervisors and management advisors are openly expressing sympathy and understanding for the union brass in its difficulty to control the ranks, urging their clients to understand the problem and establish a new relationship with them.

The revolt in the unions comes primarily from the new elements who have been flooding into the work force and their impact on the scattering of old militants who have been holding on over the years.

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The press has been full of material on the revolt of the youth — the ferment on the campus and the total rejection of the established community by those who constitute Toronto's Yorkville and its counterpart in other major Canadian cities. But the bulk of this generation in revolt is in the work force. For all the official talk about education they have been driven there by constantly rising university fees, the cost of books, and the mounting cost of living.

The Impact of the Youth

According to a statement by a CLC official, by 1970 the number of workers in the 24 to 27 year age group will have increased by one third. By 1975 this group will have climbed by 57%.

They are not primarily in the long-organized basic industries where, despite increased production, the work force has remained relatively frozen and older workers predominate thanks to the protection of the seniority clauses in union contracts. They are however on the key production lines of these industries. In their majority the youth are in the service industries many of which are only now in the process of being organized.

Few of the young workers have yet moved into the unions, few attend meetings and even fewer play any active role in union affairs. They tend to identify unionism with the union brass. They neither know the history of their class nor the scope of the task before them. Nonetheless they have been a vital factor in the new militancy. They are critical. They want solutions. They want action.

The recent postal workers strike, which resulted in most areas in the reconstitution of the union leadership from top to bottom, saw the picket lines set up and manned by youth. The bulk of them had never attended a union meeting, in fact had not even taken out membership in the association.

The active base of support of the union leadership in the shops is very narrow. Their real, and it is largely a passive base of support, are the more highly skilled, the older workers who have a stake in the retirement fund, who have a real personal concern about the policing of seniority clauses. They are by and large the most conservative element in the shop.

It is this phenomenon that has made the unions so unresponsive to the needs of the ranks, that has caused the ranks to see little possibility of effecting vital changes — less and less through the union machinery, and more and more through independent action as pressure on the machine.

While the union ranks have been demonstrating a new and higher combativity — they have not yet come to seriously challenge the union bureaucracy. The explosive outbursts have had successes, but at best they have been only partial successes — they have been contained in one shop, or in an area of one union, and their force continues to be largely dissipated.

The winning of the trade unions to a class struggle orientation depends on two interrelated factors; (1) the development of a program that logically arises out of the experiences of the rank and file, that reflects their needs and present level of understanding and takes them forward, united in anti-capitalist struggle; (2) the bringing together of the necessary forces to give this program life, to adapt it to specific conditions, to effectively disseminate it, to explain it, to defend it — and to integrate these forces as a leadership that will not only challenge the old leadership but will prove its superiority and replace it.

While the number of conscious militants is as yet small, they have in various situations proven capable on a limited scale of working out the necessary program in general outline and even effectively adapting it to specific circumstances.

Build a New Leadership

The situation is increasingly favorable for the coalescing of a left wing. But the process is a highly contradictory one. The combativity of the workers, lacking a conscious and mature leadership to develop and direct it, fluctuates wildly. Even the better militants, deprived of necessary experience and education, suffer big gaps in their understanding.

A patient and methodical approach to each specific situation is required. Some militants, inspired by the need for action and by the possibilities of carrying it out, have moved too quickly or failed to establish sufficient support under themselves, and, particularly vulnerable to attack from the bosses and under the hostility of the bureaucracy, have become isolated, ineffective — if not victimized.

An important part of the forces which will bring together the new militant leadership are the new layers of youth coming into the work force with their critical attitudes to all established conditions, many of them from the anti-war movement and some even socialist. The older militants who have been holding on over the years and whose spirits are being lifted, can speed up the integration of these new militants and fuse them into the ranks of the older workers whose support must be won.

The militants must carry on a constant activity whereby they demonstrate that they are the best unionists, the most committed and the most loyal to their class, the most able defenders of what has already been won in struggle with the bosses, and those with the best ideas and the firmest will to extend the interests of the working class.

All the evidence tells us that we are moving into a new and stormy period in Canadian labor history. The old reformist unionism is a thing of the past. A new class struggle, revolutionary unionism is in the process of birth. The militants, the new generation coming into the work force, have the responsibility, they have the opportunity, of preparing themselves to move out, to develop the necessary program and build the necessary leadership that can lead the struggles of the Canadian workers to their socialist resolution.

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Why Que Hailed DeGaulle's Visit

By Jean Laplante

"Here, this evening, and all along the route, I found myself in an atmosphere like that of the Liberation . . . Long live free Quebec!" These phrases from the Montreal speech of President DeGaulle, touched off the biggest controversy in French Canada since the conscription crisis of the second world war, and exposed and mocked the lavishly engineered celebrations of the Canadian centennial year.

Considerable ink has been spent in debating the maneuverings of DeGaulle, Pearson and other bourgeois politicians in Quebec. The violations of protocol, if such, the hypocrisy of the bonapartist DeGaulle, known for his colonialist and anti-working class deeds, the implications of the affair in the context of DeGaulle's "decolonising" and anti-American and anti-British policies — all have been given the full going over. But it was precisely the reactions of the people of Quebec, and not of the backroom politicians, that gave 'l'affaire DeGaulle' its real significance and provoked Ottawa's stern response.

French Canadians gave DeGaulle an enormous welcome. Thousands thronged the route from Quebec to Montreal. In Montreal itself, 500,000 lined the streets — 15,000 at City Hall alone. These outpourings contrasted sharply with the small crowds which greeted the Queen in 1964 in Quebec City, and bypassed any attendance that could have been expected simply from a well-organized governmental publicity campaign, or from the separatist minority.

No doubt the welcome was heightened by the not-too-private squabbles between Quebec and Ottawa over the planned visit, and the general awareness of Ottawa's apprehension. But the response also flowed from an identification by French Canadians not with DeGaulle the militarist or DeGaulle the strike-breaker, but with the rep-

resentative of France, the crucible on a world scale of the French tongue and culture.

The warm welcome and the subsequent widespread discussions around Ottawa's ousting of DeGaulle, have reconfirmed the fact that French Canada sees itself as a people, separate and distinct from English Canada. It also illustrated that French Canada is in Canada, not as some sociological abstraction, but in the very brutal status of an oppressed nation. The day to day realities of Quebec life — lower wages, longer hours, more layoffs, and the inability to advance even meagrely in the French language — these facts accounted for the response to the general.

The reactions of Ottawa and of the English Canadian press, caught up in their own chauvinistic propaganda around the centennial celebrations, and furious that the affair should show the rift in the Con-

(See page 2)

DeGaulle's visit Reveals Quebec Nationalism



The Impact of DeGaulle

(continued from page 1)

federation myth of "national unity", lost their heads. Fabrications flew. 500,000 persons in Montreal became 5,000; the crowds were "dominated by separatists", ". . . he's getting a less-than-enthusiastic reception en-route. And he may face more of the same in Montreal" (the *Toronto Telegram*); or the *Globe and Mail* describing the reception at Montreal's 'City Hall' . . . crowds made up largely of placard-carrying, chanting separatists. . ."

The English journals were unanimous in their interpretation of "Vive le Quebec libre" as meaning a direct call for a separate Quebec. Interestingly, subsequent polls demonstrated that this was a view held only by a small minority in Quebec. Most took it as a salute to the newly-awakened French Canadian national consciousness and as a call for the preservation and strengthening of the French fact in Canada.

In contrast to the overwhelming Quebec sentiment that DeGaulle should have come, the English press and the English-dominated federal regime demanded that his visit be curtailed. So intense was the English Canadian reaction, that Quebec political and labor organisations felt pressured to join the hue and cry. Former Quebec Premier Jean Lesage found DeGaulle's comments 'inopportune', and provoked a crisis with some nationalist elements of his Liberal party. Both Quebec labor federations issued long statements pointing to the one-day general strike by 10,000,000 French workers this spring, and fatuously claimed that 'l'affaire' had done little to improve the social conditions of Quebec workers.

DeGaulle has come and gone. But his visit, whether by accident or by design, strongly underlined one of the central questions in Canadian politics and in the coming Canadian socialist revolution — the existence and the growing recognition by French-Canadians of, their oppressed situation as a nation.

LSA/LSO Plenum Meet Discusses NDP, Quebec

The plenary sessions of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière central committee, which was elected at last summer's convention, were held in Toronto over July 6, 7, 8 and 11. The attendance was excellent with only one Quebec and two BC members unable to attend. The July 8 session on Quebec was enlarged by the presence of leading cadre from the LSO.

Most of the delegates came fresh from participating in the July 1 anti-Vietnam war demonstration in Montreal, the NDP convention that closed in Toronto only a day before, and/or, the founding of the new youth organization, Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes,

in Toronto over July 8-10. All three highly significant events, in which the developing LSA/LSO forces played an important role, were the subject of intense discussions, if not in the formal sessions of the plenum then in the various fraction meetings held between sessions.

A report on the building of the movement against the war in Vietnam, the first item following the adoption of the agenda, showed the high priority that this problem has for the LSA/LSO. The document that came out of the report, and the extended discussion, stressed as the LSA/LSO's objective "to build the broadest and most powerful mobilization against the war". This can best be assured by maintaining the movement's present non-exclusionist and single issue character. After noting the limited headway already made into the ranks of the NDP and the trade unions it stressed this as the chief challenge before the movement.

The discussion on the New Democratic Party revolved around a document presented by the PC on the continued evolution of the party into an electoral apparatus under control of the brass in which socialist views are being less and less tolerated, and the problems this represents to militants and socialists in the period of relative class stability that prevails. It was agreed on the necessity for the LSA/LSO to stress their independent activities so that forces vital to the next upturn are not lost. A second document dealt with the work to win the NDP to a socialist policy.

The continuing discussions on Quebec around three documents that had been presented to last summer's convention and not voted on, moved forward with this plenum. An eleven point thesis on Quebec was presented to the plenum. After a serious discussion, its general line was adopted. The document characterizes the French-Canadian nation as "an oppressed nation, subordinated politically to the federal regime, and economically to English-Canadian and American capitalist interests". The document distinguishes between "national consciousness" and "nationalism", between nationalism as a "tendency" and nationalism as a "movement". "All French-Canadians whatever their social class position," it says, "have to some degree a common conscious self-identification as French-Canadians or Quebecois, . . . but national consciousness does not develop inevitably into a positive program of nationalism, still less into separa-

tism".

Separatism has so far been limited in its support to the petty-bourgeoisie, with little support from either the working class or the big bourgeoisie. The "Quiet Revolution" is more than anything else "the growing labor consciousness and militancy that has swept broad layers of the industrial proletariat, reaching even into 'white collar' ranks of the labor force".

The document states that the LSA/LSO defends the right of self-determination, including separation, but points out that as socialists "we are not ourselves nationalists, still less separatists".

In explanation of LSA/LSO relations it says "Because the political struggle in both French and English-Canada remains oriented in the first place against a united Canadian capitalist class, and its central government in Ottawa, the LSA/LSO are united within a single organizational structure".

The adopted theses and a further contribution to the discussion entitled *Quebec and the National Question* are to be circulated throughout the LSA/LSO.

Another important subject of discussion was the press — both the *Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvrière*. Preparatory actions were taken towards publication of the *Vanguard* as a twice monthly by October.

San Andres Experiment Shows Aims

By Ross Dowson

(The editor of the Vanguard recently returned from a short stay in Cuba.)

That the Cuban revolution has resulted in great material gains for the mass of the Cuban people is unchallengeable. This is a fact despite the economic blockade imposed on the tiny island by the U.S. state department and the servile participation of the Pearson government in the blockade. You don't need special guides or sight-seeing buses. You don't have to search out the evidence. It is there for anyone to see.

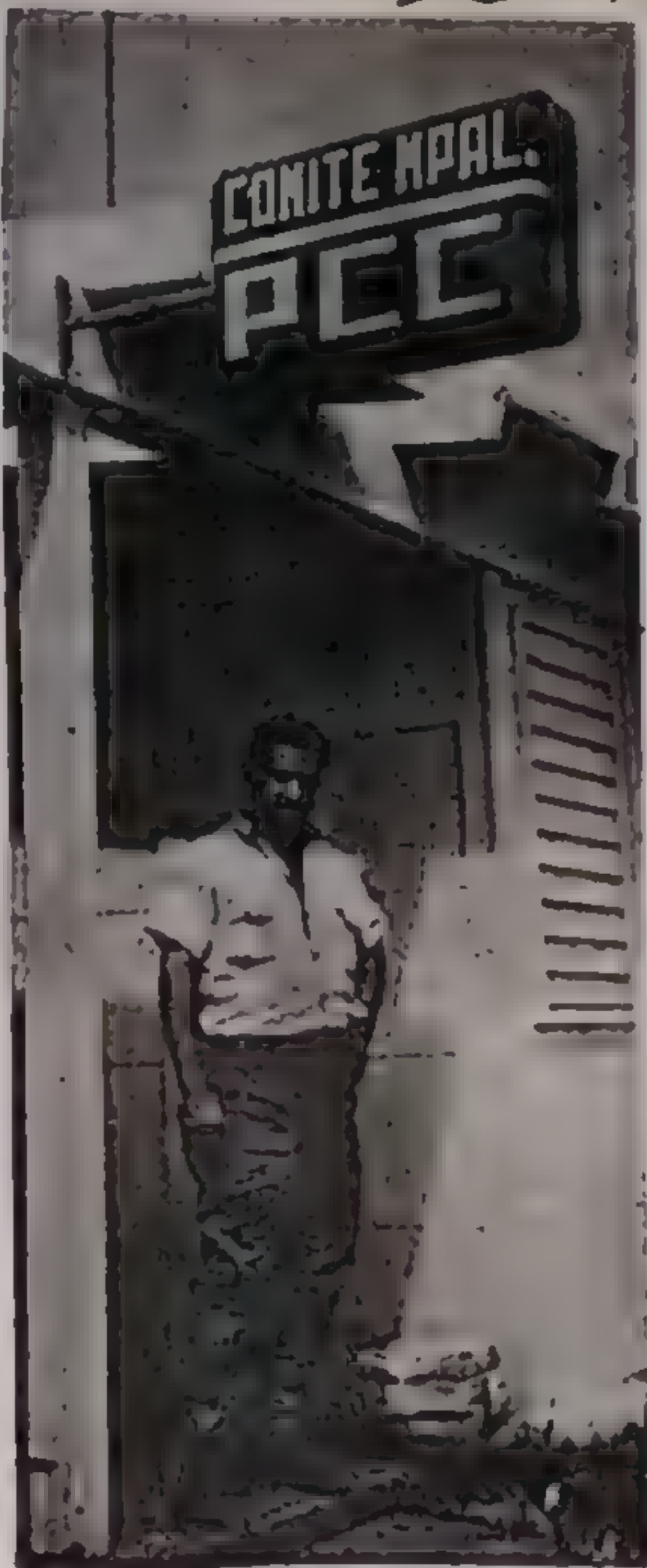
The pamphlet *Canadian Students in Cuba*, containing 18 contributions on various aspects of Cuban life, gives an accurate picture of the considerable achievements of the Cuban revolution as seen through the clear and critical eyes of youth. The 18 were part of a group of 45 students who visited and worked in Cuba over a period of two months in the summer of '64.

The vast housing project of New Havana still stands as they saw it in all its beauty across from the harbor entrance, but larger than before. Public services have been extended since they were there — now telephones no longer swallow nickels and dimes. They are free. The Coppelia ice cream served at the Cuban pavilion is not an Expo special but is available in an incredible number of flavors and the same high quality, at a super-pavilion just across the road from the Habana Libre Hotel.

While the Cuban peoples' living standard is still below that of the Canadian people, and they are working to eliminate that gap, to eliminate the worst aspects of the struggle to survive, even within their underdeveloped economy they are shaping the new, the socialist man. The most significant single project of this kind is the integrated scheme at San Andres de Caiguanabo.

When Premier Fidel Castro inaugurated this project last January 28 he dedicated it to the Cuban Revolution's profound confidence in man.

The small valley community of San Andres, only some 75 miles from Havana, was up until 1½ years ago isolated and cut off from the rest of Cuba and the world. It was a community of small peasant landowners who exhausted themselves in working their land with the most primitive of tools, who lived in miserable huts without light or power, the women folk early aged through child-bearing and the drudgery of household tasks, their surviving children suffering from inadequate and poor diet, with little or no education, and compelled at an early age to participate in the hard farm work. Their lives were an



Mario Gonzales, municipal secretary, stands outside the administrative offices of the San Andres project.

Houses, clean and airy, that are being built through the San Andres valley to replace the hovels that the peasants have lived in until recently.

endless battle for survival, often driven to struggle against one another in order to exist.

Then a tremendous transformation commenced to take place. Within the next six months, according to Fidel, San Andres, which is "a step into the future that lies ahead . . . will have attained the social situation above all in education that we hope to see in a great part of the country, and if possible, throughout the country—by 1975".

Now there are services of every kind and of the most advanced character which no one in this community could have even dreamed of before. And they are free, free!

There are five day nurseries now in operation. The one I visited was in the charge of a young black girl who had graduated from a pedagogical institute, and four youthful assistants who come from the local community. That day there were 21 children at the creche. They had been brought to the nursery by vehicle and they stayed there all day until returned to their parents at 6 o'clock.

Clothes, food, transportation, all the facilities of the nursery, and they are well equipped and run very

Fidel Salutes Man

"Reactionaries do not trust man; they mistrust human beings," said Fidel in his speech to the people of San Andres valley who participated in the formal inauguration ceremonies there last January 28.

"They believe that a human being is still akin to a beast which will move only under the lash. They believe that man can do noble things only if driven by selfish motives. The revolutionary has a much higher concept of man, looking upon him not as a beast but rather as a being capable of higher forms of development, higher forms of conduct, higher forms of stimulation. The revolutionary believes in man, in human beings. And whoever does not believe in human beings is not a revolutionary."

"All over the world these ideas are being discussed, ideas that we may describe as either revolutionary or reactionary, about how to build socialism and communism. Reactionary ideas are gathering strength in many places, while faith in mankind is on the wane. In our country, revolutionary ideas are gaining in strength and faith in human beings is ever on the increase.

"We, who consider ourselves revolutionaries and who wait serenely for time to judge us and do not ourselves justify our actions, are well aware that in a world where many reactionary ideas are gaining in strength and please note—even often-times disguised by Marxist-Leninist terminology—we carry on, holding high our revolutionary ideas. And not simply holding high our ideas but also believing deeply in them, with a profound belief in man. We take this road fearlessly. There may be many in this world who wish for our defeat. Many in this world may prefer the defeat of the revolutionaries to the confession that they were not really revolutionaries."



smoothly, are free! The meals come to this and the other four nurseries in the valley from a central kitchen where they have been prepared under the directions of a skilled dietician. A doctor—for the first time there is a clinic with a doctor in the community—comes once a week to check on the progress of the children.

Half a mile away stood a very modern group of buildings which we visited. This is an upper school that takes children from the 4th grade to the last year of junior high. But it is much more than a school, as we know schools. It is a youth center. Some 294 children come here and stay for the whole week—returning home only on Sunday. Here they get their clothes, their meals, their bed, not to mention their books, free—everything they need, free.

The children do much of the work required to keep this complex operation going, where necessary with the aid and supervision of specialists. They work together with others. They join in cooperative labor on the extensive plot which supplies the school with much of its food. They prepare, cook and serve their own

meals under the supervision of a skilled cook. I arrived to find that it was a non-teaching day.

Two of the staff of 20 teachers proudly showed me the excellent facilities. As they took me through the kitchen, the dormitories, the library, across the playing fields, they were affectionately followed by dozens of children. The man was 18 years of age, the woman slightly older. He and four others of the staff have not yet graduated and have students not much younger than themselves.

Both teachers are members of the communist youth and are proud of the school and the opportunity they have to prepare the children of San Andres for life in the spirit of the brotherhood of man, of human solidarity. The project is operated on the principle that by working for himself the student works for all. Education and work are interlocked. Thus as Fidel said at the inauguration, our children "will learn that material goods do not fall from the sky but must be produced through work . . . they will acquire a noble concept of work; not the idea of work as something to be scorned, not of work as a sacrifice,

Page 2 of 3

July 26 Celebrations

but rather as a pleasure, as something agreeable, the most ennobling thing a man can do, and which he needs to do."

The transformation of the San Andres valley became possible when the Cuban government made considerable resources available to the campesino. Some 20 tractors were brought in to plow the land which had been worked by over a thousand oxen. Some 50 members of the Communist party and 170 militants from the youth came in to help the peasants who were organized in the National Organization of Private Peasants and the Federation of Cuban Women. Mario Gonzales was elected municipal secretary by the militants and works through a directing council.

Besides the 4,000 hectares that are in the private sector and whose productivity is much higher, another 7,000 hectares have been opened up. The bulk of this newly cultivated land is on the hills surrounding the

valley. It is being used for the cultivation of coffee and the planting of trees for wood, to be used in the making of furniture.

The coffee crop (more than a million coffee shrubs were planted in the first year) will not be consumed in the valley but will be a contribution of the valley to the Cuban economy as a whole. Nor will the wood be used in San Andres — it will be a return to other parts of the economy which supplied the tractors and the school teachers.

Some thirty peasants have responded to the new atmosphere of cooperative labor that now permeates the valley by turning over the deeds to the plots that they owned and had worked as private individuals. Mario Gonzales expresses confidence that their example would be followed and that the whole area would develop into a state farm where the most effective use of the land could be planned

and the labor allocated. "If the revolution goes to the people", he said to me, "the people respond to the revolution."

Fidel closed his inauguration speech by characterizing the men, women and children at San Andres as the vanguard. "All of us," he

said, "who are interested in human beings, who believe in human beings, who are concerned with revolutionary ideas, who desire a better life, a better society, a happier life for man will be watching what takes place here very closely."

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**WORKERS
Vanguard**

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the Cuban Revolution



OLAS Parley Inspires World-Wide Greetings

The first conference of the Organization of Latin America solidarity, now coming to a close in Havana, and the July 26 celebrations which immediately preceded it, evoked salutations and expressions of solidarity from across the globe.

Leading French intellectuals, among them Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean-Louis Barrault, Simone de Beauvoir and Laurent Schwartz, sent the following message on the anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada barracks: "It has never been more evident than now that Latin America has entered a process of liberation of which the first chapter was the Cuban Revolution, which in its eight-year existence, has won great victories for its people.

"In celebrating these conquests, we renew our solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, threatened, but as full of hope as it was on the first day."

Stokely Carmichael's attendance at the OLAS conference and his recognition there as an honorary delegate foreshadows a linking of the Afro-American freedom struggle in the U.S. with the world colonial revolution.

As he left London for Havana, the youthful leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) stated "We are going to be reunited with you in Havana because we think the Cuban victory is our victory and the courage of the Cuban people inspires our fight."

In an interview with the Cuban *Juventud Rebelde* he said: "We must internationalize our struggle, and, if we are going to turn into reality the words of Che to create two, three and more Vietnams, we must recognize that Detroit and New York

are also Vietnam."

Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency, reported various statements of support to the OLAS conference from the United States.

Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman, editors of *Monthly Review*, were quoted as saying "as North Americans who are convinced that United States imperialism is the number one enemy of the peoples of the world today, we wish all success to the peoples of Latin America in their just struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution".

Along with statements from the well known writer and journalist, John Gerassi, from Grace Mora, the sister of Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three, they quoted one from Eugene D. Genovese, president of the 1967 Socialist Scholars Conference and now professor of history at Sir George Williams University, Montreal: "Your conference must mark a new departure and rally our forces in the developed as well as the underdeveloped countries. . . The demand for movements based on the ideology of socialist revolution can no longer be viewed extremist or adventurist. . . . Recent events demonstrated that nothing else can mobilize the masses and that without such mobilization, imperialism will always prevail."

Joseph Hansen, editor of the weekly *Militant*, is reported as pledging "we will do everything possible to bring to our readers the truth about the Latin American anti-imperialist struggle and about your very significant conference. . . we fully appreciate that every blow struck against the U.S. rulers by the revolutionary fighters of Latin America advances our struggle here."

On August 7th Radio Havana reported greetings to OLAS from the Canadian League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. It was as follows: "Hail to your first conference. We Canadian revolutionary socialists express our hope and our confidence that your deliberations will respond fully to the challenge of the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese peoples and the inspiration of the rising struggles of the peoples of Latin America against imperialism.

"We are convinced that in Che's general outline of the nature of the struggle and its socialist objective lies the answer. The eyes of the international vanguard are following your sessions in anticipation. May your conference mark a turning point in the Latin American and world revolution. For success in your deliberations and socialist greetings.

Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO.

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WORKERS
Vanguard

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from the critics corner



CANADIAN DIMENSIONS — "an independent journal of fact and opinion . . . not affiliated with any political party or organization." Published six times a year, 50 cents a copy. Box 1413, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The front and back cover of Vol. 4 No. 4 of this magazine, appropriately emblazoned with a maple leaf, is taken up entirely with "An Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists," signed by three of its editorial board: Gad Horowitz, G. W. Gonick and G. Davis Sheps.

The letter is a call for the formation of a movement for Canadian independence. Strange to say it is not addressed to French-Canadian nationalists — a very real social force in Canadian politics — quite the contrary. If it is addressed to anyone at all it seems to us that it is directed to socialists, to convince them to change course, to take off in a new direction.

"The common minimum program" . . . "acceptable to all nationalists," which the authors talk about, and upon which the movement is presumably to be based, is astonishingly vague. Perhaps this is due to the task this program is to perform — to get underway an alliance that "would cross racial, regional and class lines." At any rate not even one plank of the economic category is presented. Only the aim is sketched in — "a battery of specific legislative measures . . . to hold back the tide" of integration with the U.S. economy. When it comes to the other one of the two categories, the cultural one — the program calls merely for a subsidization of Canadian cultural production . . . "everything that can be published, performed, or broadcast."

Perhaps the extreme poverty of the program is because there is no real basis for such a movement — the visualized independence movement — in this country. It is true of course that American capitalist society bears down with enormous force on the Canadian economy and on Canadian cultural life — and that Ottawa, under the Liberals, and the Tories before that, cravenly adapts itself to the economic and political directives of the American ruling class.

But Canada has a developed capitalist economy and a mature and conscious capitalist class that rules this country in its interests, within the context of world reality. On the other hand the Canadian working class has developed its own organizations, both economic and political, which have been formed in combat with the Canadian capitalist class and, if only semi-consciously at this stage, are moving in the direction of taking power in their own name.

Why is it that this call that starts off so stridently, ends up so pitifully. The sad fact of the matter, one of the authors admits in a supplementary article, — there is no doctrine of Canadian nationalism. "There is no unique set of Canadian values which is to be preserved from corruption by outsiders and/or imposed on them by forceful persuasion." (Horowitz) Dare we say it — there

is no class, and ideology is always an instrument of class interests, there is no class whose interests a Pan-Canadian nationalism reflects.

In reality, in so far as it is deliverable, the *Canadian Dimension* letter is addressed to the socialists. For it is clear that the authors, when you get down to it, see the socialists as having the task of getting this alliance underway.

Gonick makes this quite explicit in another article in the magazine. He sees a movement for Canadian independence as the only hope of making socialism once again relevant and capable of getting a hearing in Canada. Horowitz tells socialists to put aside their ideology as it is only a "long run" solution — the rising tide of continentalism, he warns, demands a common front of all political parties and all ideological persuasion to halt it.

Underlying their appeal is their profound pessimism about the prospects of socialism, both in Canada and the United States. On the one hand Horowitz recognizes the counter revolutionary power of American capitalism, and he fears absorption of Canada by this "citadel of world capitalism." On the other he writes off the forces for socialist revolution in America. We think that this is somewhat premature, to say the least, after witnessing the gigantic social explosions coming out of the Black Ghettos that shook the major metropolises of the U.S. last month.

In this open letter that attempts to conjure up a Pan-Canadian nationalist movement not a word appears about the very real nationalism that permeates a major part of Canada's population — the Quebecois. Horowitz shows in another article in the magazine that he is not unaware of the contradictory aspects of nationalism at this stage of history. He concedes that socialism is essentially internationalist, but informs some opponents of the view expressed in the open letter that nationalism as such is not "harmful" — the nationalism of colonized people seeking self-determination," he quite correctly notes, with an unexplained qualification of "nearly", is "always justifiable."

So he overlooks the revolutionary potential of black nationalism in the United States. But not nationalism in Quebec. This nationalism, which surely is that of a colonized people seeking self determination, he not only shows no sympathy for, but attacks in the same crude way as the Tories, as threatening "to tear the country apart."

Possibly this is altogether too trite for the editors of *Canadian Dimensions*, but the simple truth of the matter is that there can be no Canadian independence under capitalism. Canada can only be independent when the working class take the power and control the economy of this country — then it will not be nationalist but internationalist.

by R.D.



INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL in session in Stockholm, Sweden. After hearing evidence from many sources, the Tribunal declared the U.S. guilty on two of the five questions which form the basis for its investigations of U.S. actions in Vietnam.

War Crimes Tribunal Continues its Inquiry

By P. Kent

The International War Crimes Tribunal has announced that a team of eminently qualified specialists is leaving for Vietnam to carry forward its investigations of the character of the United States' war in Vietnam.

The Tribunal, initiated by the eminent British philosopher Bertrand Russell, is composed of a number of internationally distinguished intellectuals including among others Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, Lelio Basso, Stokely Carmichael and Lazaro Cardenas. Committees have sprung up across the world, including Canada, in support of its aims.

The first stage of the Tribunal's deliberations were completed early last May in Stockholm. After 9 days of hearing extensive testimony by investigating teams, jurists and Vietnamese victims of the war, the body of distinguished intellectuals found the United States guilty of the crimes of aggression and "widespread, deliberate and systematic" bombardment of civilian targets in Vietnam.

Australia, New Zealand and South Korea were found guilty of complicity in the war crimes, defined as "crimes against peace and crimes against humanity." Specific violations of international law were cited under the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg declarations and the Geneva accords of 1954.

The Stockholm deliberations dealt

with the first two of five questions that the Tribunal sought answers for. The new investigations now underway are designed to obtain information of every kind to answer the following questions:

1) Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example: hospitals, schools, sanatoria, dams, etc., and on what scale has this occurred?

2) Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and, in particular, to torture or mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular execution of hostages?

3) Have forced labor camps been created, has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

The Canadian Committee has recently announced that it has obtained a first rate film by the eminent French film director Roger Pic, *Malgré l'Escalade* (Despite the Escalation), that is available for rental to campus and community groups for a small charge. Copies of Bertrand Russell's closing statement and Jean-Paul Sartre's opening address to the Stockholm sessions, and supplementary materials, are available from the Canadian Committee for the International War Crimes Tribunal, 758 Yonge Street, Room 6, Toronto.

VANGUARD FORUM



ROSS DOWSON, editor of the Vanguard, speaking at the regular Friday evening Vanguard Forum in Toronto, about his recent trip to Cuba. (See article last issue.)

Fidel Castro Scores CP's 'Peaceful Road'

Fidel Castro's closing speech to the OLAS conference constitutes the most far-reaching statement yet made by the Cuban leadership of their determination to maintain an independent revolutionary position, uncompromised by the reformist orientations of the bureaucratized "Communist" parties of Latin America and their Moscow-and Peking-oriented allies.

Castro began by taking up the doubts expressed by the representatives of the U.S. capitalist press on whether the CIA was really behind the counterrevolutionary agents who had been captured.

His approach was to weigh the credibility of the evidence, such as how the agents got from Miami to Cuba and where they obtained their highly-specialized electronic equipment and military maps. The effect was to bring out with the greatest sharpness the source of the main pressure on Cuba and on the Latin American revolution as a whole. This approach also exposed the hypocrisy of those Latin American oligarchies, such as the Leoni government of Venezuela, which seek "hemispheric action" against Cuba on the grounds of its supposed "interference" in their "internal affairs".

Fidel then went into an elucidation of the major political conclusions of the conference which he termed a "victory of revolutionary ideas". The conference had eschewed the concept of "peaceful coexistence" between the dictatorships and the masses, and reaffirmed the primacy of armed struggle as the means to power in the Latin Ameri-

can countries. Did this mean, then, that the delegates called for immediate guerrilla action in every Latin American country? Fidel described the real meaning of the formulation:

"This Byzantine discussion about the ways and means of struggle, whether it should be peaceful or non-peaceful, armed or unarmed—the essence of this discussion, which we call Byzantine because it is like an argument between two deaf and dumb people, is what distinguishes those who want to promote revolution, and those who do not want to promote it, those who want to curb it and those who want to promote it. Let no one be fooled.

"Different terms have been employed: whether this is the only way, or not the only way; whether it is exclusive, or not exclusive. And the Conference has been very clear about this. It has not used the term, the only way, although it could be called the only way; it has referred, instead, to the fundamental way, to which the other forms of struggle must be subordinated. And, in the long run, it is the only way. To use the word "only" — although the sense of the word is understood and it is the right word — might lead to erroneous thinking about the immediacy of the struggle."

The Cuban Premier continued: "No one can be so sectarian, so dogmatic, as to say that, everywhere, one has to go out and grab a rifle tomorrow. And we ourselves do not doubt that there are some countries in which this task is not an immediate task, but we are convinced that it will be a task in the

long run."

In a scarcely-veiled attack on the Stalinized CP's around the world, Castro stated that "revolutionary thought must take on new impetus . . . We must leave behind old vices: sectarian positions of all kinds and the positions of those who believe they have a monopoly on revolution or on revolutionary theory!"

"A whole series of old clichés must be abolished", he declared. "Marxist literature itself, revolutionary political literature itself should be renewed, because repeating the same, old clichés, phraseology and verbiage that have been repeated for 35 years wins over no one, convinces no one at all. . . .

"But, worse than the phrases are the ideas they often encompass. Meaningless phrases are bad, but so are the accepted meanings of certain phrases. Because there are theses that are 40 years old. . . ." As an example of such discredited concepts, Castro cited "the famous thesis concerning the role of the national bourgeoisies." "Is there anybody", he asked, "who, at this time, can believe in the revolutionary role of a single bourgeoisie on this continent?"

The principal victim of this false line was singled out and named: "The communist movement developed a method, style, and in some aspects, even took on the characteristics of a religion. And we sincerely believe that that character should be left behind. Of course to some of these 'illustrious revolutionary thinkers' we are only petit-bourgeois adventurers without revolutionary maturity. We are lucky that the Revolution came before maturity! Because at the end, the mature ones, the over-mature, have gotten so ripe that they are rotten."

The Cuban premier then launched into a detailed exposé of the Venezuelan Communist Party, which has definitively repudiated the guerrilla forces it originally endorsed, expelling from its ranks those militants such as Douglas Bravo who have continued the armed struggle. Their expulsions came on the heels of growing denigration of the guerrilla struggle by the Venezuelan CP, and the party's corresponding adaptation to the phoney "parliamentarism" of the Leoni régime. Castro read the entire text of the Venezuelan party's attack on the Cuban position, then answered its main arguments.

He reaffirmed Cuba's opposition

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from p.1

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to the financial and technical aid given by the Soviet Union and other workers' states to the Latin America oligarchies. In contrast to the allegations of the Venezuelan CP leaders, this did not mean that Cuba was opposed to trade with such states. But, Fidel pointed out, "some socialist states even offered dollar loans to Sr. Lleras Restrepo (Columbian dictator) because he was in difficulties with the International Monetary Fund. . . . This is absurd! Dollar loans to an oligarchic government that is repressing the guerrillas, that is persecuting and assassinating guerrillas! . . . And such things seem absurd to us — as does everything that implies financial and technical aid to any country that is repressing the revolutionary movement, to countries that are accomplices in the imperialist blockade against Cuba. . . . If internationalism exists, if solidarity is a word worthy of respect, the least that we can expect of any State of the socialist camp is that it refrain from giving any financial or technical aid to those régimes."

Castro then went on to cite some of the outstanding instances where the Cuban government had placed its commitment to the Latin American and the world revolution as a whole above the country's own national economic needs.

Finally, referring to the high revolutionary consciousness of the Cuban people, Castro pointed to the contradictory way in which their own revolutionary line had been forged in the struggle. "The ideas in our country", he said, "have had to develop dialectically, in struggle,

in clashes. And it will be the same in every country; no country will be free from this clash of ideas. . . . The fact that we have a revolutionary people does not mean that there are no antagonisms, no contradictions."

The rightist leadership of the Venezuelan CP even had its allies in a "micro-faction" in Cuba itself, he continued. The chief characteristic of these "sectarians" was their lack of confidence in the possibility of socialist revolution. "Our Revolution has its history", Fidel reminded his listeners. "At the beginning, very few believed in it; afterwards many did." The sectarians, however, "never believed in the Revolution, they haven't learned in eight years, nor will they learn in ten years. They will never learn."

Not the least significant aspect of Castro's speech is his new emphasis on the Afro-American freedom struggle and the perspective it holds out for the development of revolutionary forces within the United States itself. With Stokely Carmichael at his side, Castro stated: "The Black sector of the population of the United States at this moment, overwhelmed by daily repression, has concentrated its energies on defending itself, on resisting, on struggle.

"But it will not be long before they will discover something which is inevitable according to the law of society, the law of history. And that is, that the revolutionary movement in the United States will arise from this Black sector . . . the revolutionary vanguard within the United States will arise from the most mistreated, the most exploited and oppressed of the Black sectors" — a vanguard "that will one day liberate all of U.S. society!"

The complete text of this stirring speech, as well as other information on the OLAS conference, may be obtained from the Vanguard Bookstores in Toronto and Vancouver.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

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Workers' Vanguard #133 September 1967

Socialist Writer Historian Dies

W. VANGUARD #133 SEPT 1967

By Ross Dowson

The death of Isaac Deutscher is a serious loss to the world socialist movement. Over the past three decades, through his books and many articles published in all the major journals of Europe and America, he had established a well-earned reputation as an authority on political, economic and cultural developments in the Soviet areas.

In the last few years he added to his reputation for socialist scholarship by moving out into the public arena to take sides on the most crucial issues of the day. He was a featured speaker at the massive April 15th mobilization in New York against the war in Vietnam, and previous to that at the second annual Socialist Scholars Conference in New York. He developed his theme there "On Socialist Man" into a challenge to other intellectuals not to "run away from politics" but to help shake the "sleeping giant of the American working class out of his sleep . . . to storm the bastions of capitalism."

Deutscher's contribution was not that of an innovator. He will be remembered chiefly for helping establish to his rightful place in the mind of the new developing generation of revolutionary socialists a man who truly was — Leon Trotsky — whose death 27 years ago at the hands of a Stalinist assassin is commemorated on August 20.

Deutscher's three volume work on Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed* and *The Prophet Outcast*, together with the *Trotsky Anthology*, *The Age of Permanent Revolution* which he edited, all of which have been translated into many languages, are introducing revolutionary Marxist thought as developed and applied to the chief problems of our times by its most able protagonist.

Under Deutscher's pen Trotsky's famed theory of the permanent revolution lives again. He vividly portrays the epic struggle of the Leninist cadre under Trotsky's leadership against the encroaching bureaucracy headed by Stalin in the isolated Russian workers' state. He sketches in bold strokes Trotsky's heroic work of defending, developing and applying Marxism to all the major problems of our epoch — so that a clean and spotless banner has been handed on to future generations.

Deutscher not only brought to his work on Trotsky a great scholarship, but also a style worthy of his subject. His writings came at a critical juncture. Between the publication of the first and second volume of the trilogy the spirit of October welled up in Poland where Deutscher himself first came to Marxism, in Hungary, and within the Soviet Union itself. Many radicals in the West, seeking an explanation which Stalin's heirs have even yet failed to provide, found many answers in Deutscher's work. The Soviet masses so far have been deprived of the right to investigate his writings.

Those who are working to build the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International, the pinnacle of Trotsky's life, have many important points of disagreement with Deutscher's evaluations and interpretations. These disagreements do not stand in the way of their fully appreciating the great value of Deutscher's work.

For some time Deutscher had been working on a study of Lenin, the founder of the Bolshevik party, and with Trotsky the leader of the Russian Revolution whose 50th anniversary is to be celebrated this coming November 7. It is to be hoped that this work of first rate importance will find its way to a publisher, even if in uncompleted form, and further add to our appreciation of Isaac Deutscher's contribution to the winning of a socialist society.



ISAAC DEUTSCHER (inset),
1907-1967, biographer of Leon
Trotsky.

Dowson Labor Candidate In Stanfield By - Election

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 2 (134) October 2, 1967 Toronto — 10 Cents

Vote Poses the Issue: Labor Against Capital

By Ross Dowson

We will exert all our energies, and we will seek to enlist the support of everyone to make the Colchester-Hants by-election a confrontation between the forces of Canadian labor and Canadian capital. That is the chief significance of the battle which has now been joined between myself and Progressive Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield.

Our intention is to be the voice of all who want Canada to adopt an independent policy, one of opposition to and not apologetics for the aggressive imperialist actions that the power-drunk rulers of the United States are waging against popular freedom movements right across the globe.

We will be spokesmen for the increasing number of Canadians who want to end Ottawa's complicity in the murderous war being waged against the people of Vietnam, the continued escalation of which threatens Canada and all mankind with nuclear destruction.

We intend to project a rounded program for terminating the long and ruthless exploitation of this country's resources and its peoples for the profit of a tiny handful, with its consequent insecurity and vast inequalities for the majority. This program will lead us forward to a society in which production will be planned and for human use, where a genuine democracy will prevail that will permit the full flowering of the initiatives and creativity of all so that Canada will be transformed into a land of peace, freedom and prosperity.

CONFRONTATION

By-elections have traditionally served as an arena for the confrontation of programs and parties. The Liberals have added another two years since the last election to their long years of power in federal government. The Tories, whom the Liberals replaced have now dumped Diefenbaker and are re-gearing their apparatus in the hope that they can once again feast on the privileges of office in Ottawa under the leadership of a man who has been premier of Nova Scotia for 11 years. What do the voters of Colchester-Hants, now given the opportunity to go to the polls, have to say on the Liberal-Tory record? What do they have to say in the face of the new challenges before us? They now have an opportunity not only to protest, but to endorse an alternative course.

The eyes of all Canada should be focused on Nova Scotia. For Colchester-Hants can be the conscience of the entire country.

Challenges New Tory Chief As NDP Fails to Nominate

Ross Dowson will challenge the new Progressive Conservative party leader, Robert Stanfield, as labor's standard bearer in the Colchester-Hants by-election on November 6.

The election in the Nova Scotia community around Truro has been called to permit the man who came out on top in the maneuvering at the Tory convention to take a seat in the House of Commons. Dowson's candidature was announced by the League for Socialist Action when it became apparent that the NDP was not going to field a candidate. He is the league's executive secretary.

On September 11 the LSA initiated a campaign to reverse Douglas' policy when it was reported that Prime Minister Pearson had assured the Tories that his party would not field a candidate and that NDP leader Douglas had stated he "would do everything possible to see that we (the NDP) don't oppose him".

Liberal Support

In a statement on that date which was carried in the cross-country press, Dowson said it was not at all unexpected that the Liberals agree to an acclamation for Stanfield. "The Tories," he said,

"provide the Liberals with an easy foil and thus help to assure that one or the other party of the Big Business interests remains in office."

But the NDP, seeking power to legislate in the interest of the working people, "must not get caught up in the parliamentary game" but must field a candidate or gravely compromise itself as a serious alternative to the boss parties. He scored Mr. Douglas' argument that Stanfield should be given an opportunity in the House to indicate where he stands and what his alternative policies are, as completely fatuous in view of the latter's 20 years in public life — eleven of them as Tory premier of Nova Scotia.

Over CBC TV on September 13 Dowson attacked the top level Liberal-Tory deal and Mr. Douglas' assent to it as a denial of the most elementary democratic rights of the people in Colchester-Hants. This deal is a dictatorial imposition of Mr. Stanfield on the people of that riding until such time as there is another federal election. To the ever-increasing rule by cabinet and order-in-council has now been added the closed, private club concept of parliament, he said.

Tory Convention

Progressive Conservatives have had Stanfield imposed upon them by the machinations of a cabal of privy councillors, senators, convention officials, party executives, and controversial ex-officio and at-large voting delegates. A widely published and unchallenged analysis of the voting at the leadership convention shows that Mr. Roblin, and not Mr. Stanfield, had the overwhelming support of constituency association representatives. Liberal supporters who believe that there is some fundamental difference between that party and the Tories are having a Tory imposed upon them — and NDP supporters are being deprived of even an opportunity to

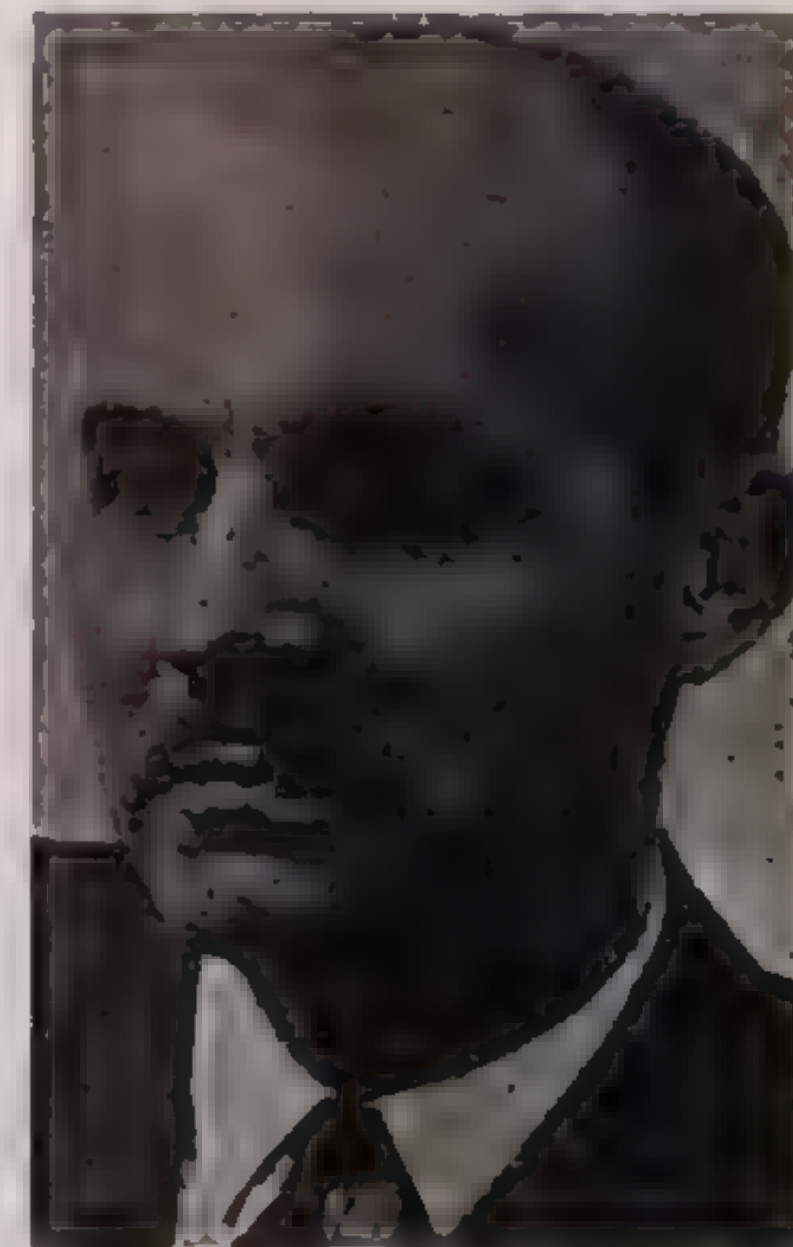
register a protest.

"What does Mr. Douglas hope to gain by this?" Dowson asked. "The good will of the very forces with which the party in three different provinces is right now locked in combat — in Saskatchewan, in Ontario, and in adjoining New Brunswick?"

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LSA CANDIDATE



Ross Dowson

Ross Dowson, now 50 years of age, has since his teens actively participated in the struggles of the Canadian workers for a better society. He is executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, La Ligue Socialistes Ouvrière, an organization of socialist-minded men and women which supports the New Democratic party seeking to influence it to adopt a militant socialist policy. He is editor of the twice-monthly *Workers Vanguard*.

He joined the unemployed movement in the thirties when coming

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Labor Editor Is Candidate

(continued from page 1)

out of school, and later became a tool and die maker and an active member of the United Steelworkers of America (CCL-CIO). During the war, he spent four years in the army, became a lieutenant, and played a leading role in a struggle that forced the King government to reverse its slave labor policy of compelling soldiers to work in industry at army rates of pay.

Candidate

Following a brief spell in university, he left to become editor of *Labor Challenge*, the precursor of the *Vanguard*. He is well-known in Toronto politics for having contested the offices of Mayor and Board of Control on several occasions. In the 1949 election he polled 23,645 votes for mayor. Dowson has contested two federal elections, one of them against Tory leader George Hees. In the other, he forced a by-election when he frustrated a deal contrived by the Liberals, with CCF leader Coldwell's agreement, which would have permitted the late Sydney Smith, already appointed minister of External Affairs, to slip into the House of Commons unopposed.

In the summer of 1963 he was a guest of the newly-formed Al-

gerian republic at a conference for Nongovernmental Aid in Algiers. Upon his return he made an extensive tour addressing public meetings and radio audiences across the West, seeking aid for these peoples coming out of ten years of bloody struggle with the French to establish their independence. This summer he visited Cuba and has since written and spoken extensively on the achievements there. He has recently written a pamphlet entitled *The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions*.

Dowson Nominated

(continued from page 1)

The Liberals and Tories never performed such a gratuitous and fraternal service for the NDP or its predecessor the CCF. Dowson pointed out in a press release on September 18. When Mr. Douglas attempted to get into the House in Regina the Liberals cooked up a deal; they ran a "sleeper" while the Tories ran a strong candidate to defeat him. In Mr. Douglas' sub-

sequent attempt in Burnaby-Coquitlam the Liberals entered their top braintruster Tom Kent in an effort to keep him out of the House.

When it appeared certain that there was to be no reversal of Mr. Douglas' scandalous position by the party, and the league had therefore announced his nomination, Mr. Dowson emphasized that he was by no means a reluctant candidate. It was the duty of the

NDP, with its Canada-wide apparatus financed by the trade unions, and its appeal as an immediate and practical alternative to the capitalist parties, to field a candidate. The League is out to win Colchester-Hants for labor. The League intends to launch a campaign right across the country to raise funds so that it can do an effective job on behalf of all those who uphold the principle of independent labor political action. It will be making an appeal to well-known NDPers, trade unionists and others to sponsor its efforts. It anticipates that NDPers and unionists in the Nova Scotia area will rally behind its efforts to make the Colchester-Hants campaign a model one.

When asked by a TV interviewer if he really thought he could win the riding for labor, Mr. Dowson commented: "No one thought the late Joe Noseworthy would win the traditionally Tory York South riding against the newly-appointed Tory leader Arthur Meighen in 1942. But he did. Meighen was forced to retire from public life and the CCF thereby marked one of its first important victories in the Eastern urban areas which today constitute the most solid base for the NDP. Nova Scotia has a long and militant union tradition—with the Glace Bay riding sending the only Maritime CCF M.P. to the House for over a decade."

Stanfield's N.S. Record

Layoffs, Subsidies

by P. Kent

By mid-summer, layoffs had become so extensive at the sprawling steel plant dominating the Nova Scotia town of Sydney, that the payroll hit a 50-year low of 2,500 men.

A few months earlier, Premier Robert L. Stanfield had reassured an election meeting that rumours of layoffs were groundless, and that the outlook of the plant was good "for the foreseeable future."

The first big layoff hit the day after the election.

There were not the slightest grounds for Mr. Stanfield's statement. Dominion Steel and Coal, part of the Hawker-Siddeley empire, had already postponed for an indefinite period its plans to rebuild part of the open hearth equipment at Sydney, and had been steadily transferring its operations to the Montreal area.

After looting the public purse of over \$200 million over the past 40 years in the form of subsidies — it still owes the government 5 million on a 1950 loan of 7½ million — the Corporation began to put the squeeze on its Liberal friends to buy out its coal operations.

Workers who have put their whole lives into the mills, whose kinfolk's blood stains the coal that comes up from the workings out under the sea, have been steadily tossed out onto the scrap heap. An estimated 1,500 have been leaving the area every year. Many are forced to leave behind almost everything they have accumulated. Most are youth — the older folks have no place to go.

Subsidies

The Liberal government in Ottawa, confronted by a sharpening increase in subsidies — in 1957-58 Dosco picked up 8 million and in 1966-67, 26 million — finally decided to take drastic action. It decided to bail out Dosco — with public funds — to buy up the now unprofitable part of its holdings — the coal operations. Dosco wants almost \$6 million. Whatever the final deal, Dosco stockholders will be well looked after. Soon after the government's announcement, shares worth \$5 two years ago jumped to \$12.

Ottawa has set up the Cape Breton Development Corporation (CBDC) with a \$45 million treasury. 25 million dollars is to be allocated to maintain some of the mines until all of them are closed

at the end of a 15-year period. The other paltry 20 million is to be allocated to the development of new industry — not by CBDC itself, of course, but to be passed along to someone else to revive the Cape Breton economy.

Thus the Liberals are implementing with a vengeance the famous report prepared by Walter Gordon which urged Maritimers to leave the land of their birth, because no other solution could be found.

Stanfield's Record

Mr. Stanfield, too, is leaving the Maritimes — to take up his duties at the Ottawa headquarters of the Progressive Conservative party. The major achievement of his 11 years as Premier, even according to his admirers, is Industrial Estates Limited. IEL is Stanfield's answer to the continued decline of the Nova Scotia economy — and nothing but a province-wide Tory counterpart of Liberal Ottawa's bankrupt CBDC.

Industrial Estates Limited is designed to attract new industry into the province — with big handouts from the public purse. After 10 years its working capital stands at \$100 million.

Few Nova Scotians know any of the details of its operations. It is headed by Frank Sobey, owner of the 50-store Nova Scotia supermarket chain, and Ennam, chairman of the Bank of Nova Scotia. The secrecy surrounding its employment of public funds is excused in order to ensure that no business outfit can use knowledge of terms granted other outfits to increase its bargaining position with IEL.

The function of Mr. Stanfield's IEL is simply to place public funds at the disposal of Big Business interests which are unprepared to risk investing their own funds — in other words, to subsidize directly so-called free enterprise.

Two of the most important projects IEL is involved in are Clairtone Sound Corporation and Deuterium of Canada. The latter was launched by a U.S. corporation with a plan for a \$30-million plant to produce heavy water. The government committed itself to advance 12 million. When the company declared inability to invest the other 18 million, IEL funds came through. Now IEL has bought out Deuterium of Canada and is preparing to invest another 48 million. The federal government has come through by having Atomic Energy of Canada Limited grant a long-term contract.

What will this 78 million dollar investment pay off in the form of jobs? Well, there will be 175 jobs at the plant.

Clairtone Sound Limited produces color TV sets. Commencing with a modest investment, the government has now sunk 12 million into Clairtone. During the first half of last year it showed a net loss of \$91,000 — in the corresponding period of this year its loss rose to \$799,000. IEL has bailed out this free enterprise venture by taking it over. It employed 800 persons — but its future is in grave doubt.

Public Ownership

Like the Liberals, the Tories utilize the public treasury to stimulate capital, to absorb the risks and ultimately, if necessary, to bail it out. And as if that wasn't criminal enough, it should be recalled that this policy has done nothing to overcome social insecurity in Nova Scotia, to prevent layoffs and the destruction of job opportunities.

The first thing that must be done is to tear away the curtain of secrecy which surrounds the workings of Industrial Estates Limited. The industrial plant already in existence in the province must be assessed. What Mr. Stanfield has already publicly declared his opposition to, must be done — place under public ownership — nationalize — the key Dosco operations.

In view of the colossal sums Dosco stockholders have already gobbled from the public trough, no one could seriously suggest they be indemnified. Since the funds already invested in such plants as Clairtone and Deuterium belongs to the people it seems obvious that councils of workers should be formed to govern their operation and the operation of all other publicly-owned institutions.

Armed with precise knowledge of the resources of the area and the needs of the population, the Maritimes governments must demand that Ottawa, with the resources of the entire country at its disposal, work out a joint plan that would ensure there are no more layoffs, and that everyone has a right to a job.

New Twice - Monthly Marks Major Advance

By the Editors

Well, here we are. The twice-monthly *Vanguard* is now a reality. As with past issues in recent months, careful readers may note minor stylistic improvements in layout and appearance. In this issue, we have modified our masthead. In the next period, we may change our type style, and make other changes designed to make the paper more easily readable to our growing list of subscribers.

But the big change, which marks a qualitative step forward for the Canadian left, is our new schedule. Last spring, *Vanguard* readers and supporters dug deep into their pockets to oversubscribe our objective of \$8,000 by a further \$2,000. The objective then was a twice-monthly. But we are going that one better. From now on, the *Vanguard* will be publishing every two weeks which means that some months — as is the case this month — three issues will come out!

As we pointed out in the first issue of the monthly *Workers Vanguard*, in December 1955: "The working people need a press of their own. They need a paper that defends their views against the flood of capitalist lies and will serve as an effective instrument in spreading the inspiring message of socialism to the ever-increasing layers of workers who are trying to find their way out of the capitalist jungle."

"The *Workers Vanguard* is dedicated to telling the truth about labor's struggle for socialism. The spreading of illusions and pious platitudes it leaves to others."

The program and policy of the paper remains the same. But, as we pointed out in our appeal for funds last spring, the increased frequency of publication will make it "more than twice as effective as a militant opponent of the war in Vietnam, as a voice for union militants, as a reporter of labor's struggle internationally, and as a spokesman for a socialist Canada."

Moreover, we will bend every effort to give the *Vanguard* a more popular appeal. For example, in addition to our more or less regular

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Twice-Monthly . . .

(continued from page 1)

features, such as Trade Union and NDP notes, we intend to add a regular letters column in which you, the reader, may share your opinions, griefs, beefs, and insights with us. We will be carrying more popular exposés of everyday issues, such as housing, taxation, the woman question, which will make clear the socialist alternative. We will provide longer articles in which basic socialist ideas are explained in a manner more suitable than that offered by the ordinary news article.

Above all, we welcome contributions from our readers. This is your paper. Our forces and resources are small, the objective is great — nothing less than the removal of the greatest system of exploitation ever devised on this earth. Will you help? Circulate the paper among your shop-mates, among fellow students, among friends and acquaintances in the NDP and labor movement. We hope to hear from you.

#134

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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1967

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For NDP Victories!

In two of the three provincial elections this month, the New Democratic Party enters the fray with high hopes of trouncing the old-line parties, and taking power.

In Saskatchewan, the CCF-NDP need only overcome a gap of six seats to defeat the Liberal party of Premier Ross Thatcher, the "Prairie Goldwater", and his notorious efforts to convert the province into a museum of "free enterprise." In Ontario, the NDP is drawing on an all-time membership high of 25,000 and its 210,000 trade union affiliates, to mount the most extensive and expensive campaign ever waged to dislodge the Roberts Tory government.

But, while in both provinces unprecedented numbers of party supporters strive to topple the government, their efforts are, as usual, undercut by the NDP leadership's attempts to play down the differences between the labor party and its capitalist opponents. (The New Brunswick NDP was so reluctant to demark itself from the Tories and Liberals that it declined altogether to campaign seriously, on the ridiculous grounds that the election would be "simply a personality contest"!)

Incredible as it may seem, Ontario party leader Macdonald even goes more than half-way to seconding the hypocritical contention of the Tories' newspaper ads: "When you live in Ontario, you've got a good deal going for you." In a campaign kickoff speech to 350 candidates and campaign workers in Toronto, Macdonald opined: "By many standards, life in this province is already good. We have high employment. We enjoy a reasonable standard of living. By no means should we downgrade the collective achievements we have already won." This, despite a 1964 Ontario Federation of Labour survey revealing that over 30 per cent of the province's population live in "poverty, destitution, or privation" — by the government's own standards!

Much more than patchwork is needed to remedy the injustice of a society which is "affluent" for only a few. The NDP must speak out forcefully against injunctions and compulsory arbitration; it must demand that corporation books be opened, so that the real source of inflated profits and prices be known by all; it must demand nationalization of the giant monopolies, such as Bell Telephone and the agricultural implements industry; the expropriation of slum landlords, and the immediate launching of massive low-cost housing schemes. It must solidarize unequivocally with the labor movement's demand for a shorter work week to meet the challenge of automation; for a higher minimum wage; for an escalator clause in all contracts to counteract rising prices; for the abolition of the inequitable sales taxes. The NDP must expose the Tory-Liberal stalling and attacks on medicare, and condemn both parties' complicity in the Vietnam war.

Many workers, of course, see and understand this contradiction between the NDP's class character and its non-class, even pro-capitalist, program. Unfortunately, some of them are led to reject action within the NDP, to see no perspective for socialism through the party. Despite all its shortcomings, however, we see the NDP as the only viable alternative at this time to the capitalist parties; we support it unconditionally against those parties, and we look forward with optimism to the election of NDP governments in Ontario and Saskatchewan this month.

NDP Youth Back Dowson Campaign Against Stanfield



ROSS DOWSON
Labor Candidate in Colchester-
Hants By-election

**THE WORKERS
VANGUARD**

Vol. 12, No. 3 (135) October 16, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

FLASH — Oct. 13 — Ken Novakowski, president of the federal New Democratic Youth, has wired his support to the Dowson campaign. Novakowski's telegram, which is also signed by leading members of the Alberta Young New Democrats and NDP in Edmonton, states:

"Dear Mr. Dowson. Are shocked at NDP leadership. Displays unwarranted generosity to new spokesmen for Big Business Conservatives, leaving Stanfield unopposed, a favour old line parties never extended our leaders. Gives impression we anticipate working with him in Parliament. Suggests little basic difference between us and other parties.

"Undersigned not necessarily in agreement with League for Socialist Action policies. Since NDP's default, despite even your prodding, we endorse you critically as Labour alternative to Stanfield. Commend you on making anti-Vietnam stand the central plank. Hope campaign will demonstrate to NDP advantages and necessity of running in future under such circumstances.

Ken Novakowski, President,
Federal NDY

Joe Hill, President, Edmonton
city Young New Democrats

John Burke, former vice-president,
AYND

John Worton, youth representative
to Alberta NDP
Edmonton Campus
Young New Democrats Club
Gordon Drever,
Vice-president, AYND.

As official nomination day for the Colchester-Hants Nova Scotia by-election approaches, the campaign behind Ross Dowson's candidature is getting well under way. The by-election was designed to ship the newly-elected Progressive Conservative leader, Robert Stanfield, into the House of Commons. With the failure of the Nova Scotia NDP to repudiate federal leader T. C. Douglas' agreement with the Liberals not to challenge Stanfield, the League for Socialist Action is forcing the by-election with Dowson's candidature. Official nomination day is October 23. Election day is November 6.

Stanfield has already stepped

down as premier of Nova Scotia, and a meeting will be held in Truro in mid-October to hand him the PC nomination. The Liberals are not fighting Stanfield. But Liberal leader Gerald Regan told a party meeting in Truro on September 28 that his party will fight the provincial Colchester seat left vacant by Stanfield "harder than in any election in the province within the past 50 years."

Dowson is pledged to make every effort to assure that the Colchester-Hants by-election will be a confrontation between labor and capital on both international and domestic issues. He will pose the need for a new and independent foreign policy — one of ending Canada's complicity in the US war of aggression against the people of Vietnam and breaking from the provocative NATO-NORAD military alliances, in favor of a policy of peace, trade and aid with the peoples of the entire world. A high priority in his list of domestic demands is public ownership of the vast Dosco holdings, including the profitable steel segment, and the development of a planned economy to provide jobs for all and production for use, not profit.

Meeting

Interest in the LSA campaign is rising. Clippings from the daily press reporting Dowson's nomination are being sent in from almost every major point in the country. Dowson was guest speaker at the first meeting of the NDP club on the Waterloo Lutheran University campus on September 27. An audience of some 60 students followed his address with great interest — among them a couple of Young Progressive Conservatives with large Stanfield placards. He is slated to speak at student meetings at the University of Toronto and at York University. Messages of solidarity are coming from such far away points as Edmonton, and financial contributions are arriving in the mail.

Friends and supporters in the Toronto area are mobilizing a big send-off for Dowson and a youthful group of supporters around which an effective force of Nova Scotians will be formed to carry the campaign in Colchester-Hants.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 3 (135) October 16, 1967

Toronto — 10 Cents

Nova Scotia Labor Assails Conditions

by P. Kent

"Until we decide to do something politically — until the people of Nova Scotia decide to take action," said Cape Breton Steelworkers leader Martin Merner to the delegates attending last month's annual convention of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour (CLC-AFL/CIO) "you are going to have to take what Big Business gives you"

He had been summarizing what Nova Scotia Big Business and its political representatives, in particular Robert Stanfield, eleven years the premier and now federal leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, have been handing out to the people of Nova Scotia.

Over 100,000 persons left the Atlantic provinces in the period 1961-66, because of poor conditions and lack of opportunities. Most of them, of course, were young people. Nova Scotia per capita income is 34% below the Canadian average. The absolute differential in per capita income rose from \$157 in 1947 to \$459 in 1964.

Primary products output continues to decline, said Merner. By 1961 fewer persons were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

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combined, than in the so-called defence industry projects scattered through the province. The average farm in 1961 was slightly less than 40 acres of improved land. 60% of the 12,500 farms reported gross sales of less than \$1,200 at the time of the 1961 census.

Homes and Wages

Home building has fallen, said Merner. And now the one percent rise in the interest rate on NHA owner and rental housing loans "is condemning 85% or more of Nova Scotians to inferior housing," as Nova Scotia NDP leader Professor Aitchison characterized it. "It is, in effect, a class policy," Aitchison said on the eve of the labor federation's convention. "The federal government's policy on housing is a bankrupt policy . . . and the N.S. provincial policy on housing is cut from the same cloth." The federation has long called for a provincial government subsidized low cost, low rental, housing project.

According to Merner, salaries are down. The delegates pledged themselves to fight for a \$1.75 an hour minimum wage for both men and women, for the elimination of the wage zoning system, and the 40-hour work week with time-and-a-half for hours worked over 8 in one day. The minimum wage in Nova Scotia is adjusted downward on a three-zone system, from a high of \$1.10 an hour for experienced workers 17 years of age and over, to 75 cents an hour for unskilled in Zone II. Discrimination against women is written into the law; they

get 25 cents an hour less than men in all zones.

In his guest speech to the convention the Minister of Labor noted that "the past year has been one of industrial unrest." He reproached organized labor for destroying with strikes the image that his government has been building in order to attract business interests to Nova Scotia.

Later, Federation President John Lynk, to the cheers of the delegates, replied: "If industry coming into this province can't pay decent wages, we don't want it."

Industrial Estates Limited, the Stanfield government's answer to the decline of the economy — massive subsidies from the public purse in the form of loans, tax concessions, etc., turned over in a highly secret manner — was sharply attacked by electrical workers' delegate Jim Hughes.

The Minimum Wage Act, he charged, ought to be called the Industrial Estates Act. "IFL is moving industries in here that only want to pay the minimum rate. And people are marked as traitors and community wreckers when they take action against this."

Steel Industry

Secretary-treasurer of the federation, J. K. Bell, scored leading Nova Scotia companies for storing 9 million pounds of fresh frozen fish, slowing down the development of the economy and depriving people of this valuable food, solely in order to keep prices up.

He challenged the provincial government: "Do they really want to

know the future of the Cape Breton steel industry?" The federal Liberal and provincial Tory governments have agreed to the gradual closing down of Dosco's coal mines, and now layoff after layoff is hitting the workers employed in the steel operation. Bell charged that Dosco is preparing to phase out its steel operations, too!

The 1962 federation convention went on record for the nationalization of the coal industry. Its brief of the same year called for long-term planning for industrial development. The theme of CLC leader Joe Morris' opening address to the 1963 convention was "a full employment economy."

The federation has long fought for provincial Medicare, administered by the Department of Public Health or a public commission.

The situation confronting the people of Nova Scotia is grave. Organized labor, with some 92 locals and over 35,000 members, has worked out a basic program on many of the immediate issues.

Ross Dowson's campaign against Tory leader Robert Stanfield, seeking a seat in the House of Commons in the November 6 by-election, is designed to carry the fight from the resolutions committees into the ranks of the voters in Colchester-Hants. He is being sponsored by the League for Socialist Action.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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Tell It As It Is!

"We are not so rigidly doctrinaire because there is nothing wrong in communicating in the language of the day," explained Stephen Lewis, "boy wonder" organizer of the Ontario NDP, in a recent newspaper interview.

But as the Ontario election campaign entered its last week, some NDP party workers and supporters seemed to be having serious doubts as to whether they were indeed "communicating in the language of the day". Although NDP leader Donald Macdonald stuck to his campaign slogan of "67 (seats) in '67," his campaign managers were privately revising their forecasts downward to anywhere between 16 and 25 seats in the legislative assembly, come election day. Fifty-nine seats are required to form the government. The NDP held 8 in the last legislature.

At the beginning of the campaign, the NDP had much going for it. Opinion polls gave it the support of up to 35 per cent of the electorate. The party campaign war-chest stands at almost \$100,000, not counting the constituency contributions. Membership is highest ever, as is trade union support. Many unions have loaned full-time organizers to the NDP for the campaign.

Apathy

Why, then, the pessimism? Biggest complaint heard from NDP spokesmen was that public "apathy" was killing the campaign. "Apathy," party leader Macdonald pointed out, "is the Roberts Government's strongest ally." Other activists were complaining there were "no issues" to attract public interest in the election. "Sometimes," complained one organizer, "I even wish those people who used to call us Reds would emerge from wherever they went so we could at least have an argument."

NDP members shouldn't be surprised by the apathy they are encountering. For the sad fact is — the party brass have done everything in their power to make the NDP look as indistinguishable from the old-line capitalist parties as are two peas in a pod. For socialists who carry the banner of independent labor political action, however, elections require a policy of confrontation; calling for a strong, down-the-line exposure of the capitalist parties on all the major issues of the day. There is no shortage of issues in Ontario where, as we have pointed out, over 30 per cent of the population live in "poverty, destitution, or privation" amidst the greatest corporate affluence.

Instead of trying to raise the class consciousness of the workers, of leading them into struggle against the system, the NDP seems bent on demonstrating — despite everyone's well-founded doubts — that the party is itself a part of the Establishment.

Campaign Literature

Consider, for example, the "election special" issue of the *New Democrat*, a glossy expensive-looking 16-page magazine which is being distributed to every home in the province. Larded with photos of candidates standing in front of the Canadian flag, of automated factories, modern schools, superhighways, supermarkets, high-rise apartment houses, there is not one thing in it to indicate the faintest recognition of the problems faced by Ontario wage-earners. Nor is there even a suggestion that the NDP stands for a labor government, in funda-

mental opposition to the boss governments of the Tories and Liberals.

The theme of the brochure is "The Winning Sound of the NDP", and the whole effect is designed to suggest that a Macdonald government would be the most "responsible" administrator of the present system. But the carefully-selected pictures themselves tend to suggest that this society is already in pretty good shape. The program — which appears squeezed in as an afterthought on the last few pages — utterly fails to present any "meaningful" alternative, despite its hollow pretensions. ("An NDP government would produce results — not alibis!") To cite only one example: a section on "Cost of Living" gives as its major plank, "Provide for true competition . . . by helping independent businessmen counterbalance the economic power of the corporate giants." The electorate can hardly be blamed for its indifference. Even positive points in the NDP program, for example, free university tuition and an end to injunctions, are played down.

The absence of even principled reformism is not confined, of course, to this, the major piece of NDP campaign literature. The thousands of door-to-door canvassers for the NDP — the people who constitute the backbone of the party, who are said to formulate its program at conventions every two years — are told by organizers to avoid at all costs discussing issues with the voters. One brochure which is being widely distributed simply tells people where to vote!

Election Strategy

Macdonald's chief "idea man", George Rawlyk, an ex-Tory professor who prides himself on being "very practical, pragmatic and realistic about things" and whom Macdonald says "typifies the new-image NDP", has described the party strategy: "During this election campaign the NDP is trying to articulate the underlying feeling of pride in Ontario that exists throughout the province. In previous elections, we have underestimated the importance of this."

Rawlyk admits "there's an underlying discontent which isn't articulating itself very well, but it's there." How this "discontent" can be reconciled with "pride" in the present situation doesn't unduly concern Rawlyk. He positively welcomes the voters' apathy: "If there's apathy our superiority of organization will surprise a lot of people."

Whatever the election results, the crass substitution of organizational competence for political leadership by the present NDP leadership is not aiding the labor movement in its campaign to throw out the reactionary anti-labor government at Queen's Park. Apathy is the price we pay for avoiding the issues.

A Class Party

Of course it is desirable and necessary that we "communicate in the language of the day." If only the NDP would do so! And of course, a skilled and efficient organizational structure is a must for any party vying for power. But imagine what a real socialist campaign, with the access to the tremendous human and organizational resources of the mighty trade union movement which the NDP enjoys, could accomplish in this election! The class struggle is not "doctrinaire": it is a fact of every worker's life. It is the responsibility of the NDP, as Canada's labor party, to reflect that struggle on the political plane, and in the everyday language of the working people, the vast majority of the population. That it is failing to do so despite its organizational sophistication, has been shown clearly by the Saskatchewan election results.

10-16-3

NDP, Steel Union Demand

Must Nationalize DOSCO

by Ross Dowson

TRURO, N.S., Oct. 24 (Staff) — The future of Sydney, a city of 35,000, hangs in the balance, and with it hangs the future of the economic community of over 100,000 Nova Scotians who depend on the Dominion Steel and Coal payroll. It has been hanging there since the massive subsidiary of the Hawker-Siddeley interests announced the impending closure of its steel mill on October 13. With arrogant contempt for the entire community, this giant corporation, which has been gorging itself with millions of dollars of public funds in the form of government subsidies, announced on that date that the complete operations would be closed by April 30 next year. The sales staff will be laid off less than a month from now, and the machine shop will be shut down on Jan. 1st. By April 30, there will be only a handful of 60 on staff.

Tory federal leader Robert Stanfield, who has just resigned after 11 years as premier of the province to seek office in Ottawa through the Nov. 6 Colchester-Hants by-election, expressed complete surprise and shock at the news of Dosco's decision. Only last Oct. 6, he had commented on a report on the steel operations by one of his highly praised economic development bodies, "While the conclusions reached are not particularly encouraging, they do not indicate that any disaster is facing the industry." At that time, Sydney Steel leader Martin Merner protested that "the union was neither allowed to participate in the study nor consulted while it was being carried out."

Rumours

Since then there have been innumerable meetings of federal cabinet members, provincial government representatives, and company officials, including one held in Sydney itself that took in Mr. Stanfield and even the top leadership of the Canadian Districts of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC, AFL-CIO). There have been countless reports that the Japanese Mitsui interests, Toronto financiers and others are interested. But nothing has happened — that is, nothing that's known to the public, least of all the worried community

of Cape Breton.

The provincial Tory government of Premier Smith, with extreme politeness to the Dosco bosses, has nonetheless acted as if the plant closure was nothing but a device to blackmail it into opening the public purse once again. It has offered to underwrite any losses the company claims to be suffering in order to forestall the closure and until other arrangements can be made to keep the plant in operation. So far Dosco has not accepted the offer. Does it want more than the \$4-million plus offer?

Meanwhile press reports say that Dosco officials are removing the accounts of the operation from their Sydney offices.

Public Ownership

The federal Liberal government has also reacted with shock and surprise, although Dosco is heavily dependent on it for orders, and Industry minister C. M. Drury's brother is president of Dosco. Its various ministers have made effusive offers to help. They suggest closure is unthinkable. However, when the Cape Breton South M.P. Donald MacInnis accused the government of telling "lies", they righteously denied it. MacInnis referred the House to a speech delivered in Banff by Minister of Rural Devel-

opment Maurice Sauvé, in which he talked of "guiding the surplus rural population," and "displaced steelworkers," in the same breath as "displaced coal miners." The federal government, in agreement with the provincial government, is now in the process of phasing out production and employment in Dosco's Cape Breton coal mines.

Pearson and his minister of Industry indignantly denied that they were preparing to phase out production and employment in the steel mills, too. Sauvé later stated that his remarks had been "misconstrued" but a strong suspicion remains, particularly in the absence of any other policy, that this is just what the federal government is thinking of — buying up the steel mill at a handsome price to Dosco, and phasing it out.

There is one policy that both the Liberal and Tory governments have

decisively rejected — public ownership of the Dosco complex. They do not attack this concept from any practical point of view, but strictly from principle.

The NDP leadership, which has been disowning any association with concepts of public ownership and has been ruthlessly harrassing its advocates in the party ranks, has come out for nationalization of the Sydney steel mill.

This policy — the only practical one in this emergency — has been echoed by the provincial NDP leadership. At its October 16 meeting a few days after Dosco's ominous announcement, the provincial council called for Dosco's expropriation. (Yet Council also reaffirmed its decision to abstain in the Colchester-Hants by-election.) Its statement insisted that the plant be nationalized immediately "for the purpose of continuing, modernizing and expanding its operations." The statement also urged that Dosco's Contereocor, Québec operations be taken over unless Dosco agrees to provide suitable arrangements for marketing ingots and billets from the Sydney plant.

Union's Policy

The leaders of the Steelworkers union — Dosco is one of the largest organized shops in the country — have until now consciously dampened any militant responses from the ranks. While steelworkers' children protested at the plant gate and a mobilization of some 300 students assembled outside the closed meeting at Sydney, the leadership was basking in the praises of the bosses and their Liberal and Tory stooges for their "sense of restraint" and "responsibility." Union leader Merner came out of the con-fab attended by Steel's top brass, exulting that "this was a good meeting and I'm fully satisfied."

→ to page 2

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Page 2

by Lloyd C. Abbott, Atlantic region vice-president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Union.

MacDonald said he had refrained from earlier comment as "I hoped in vain for some action or decision on the matter by either the federal or Nova Scotia government as a result of the meeting in Sydney on Tuesday night," (Oct. 17).

MacDonald urged that Dosco be nationalized under the aegis of the federal government's Cape Breton Development Corporation (in charge of phasing out coal), and that compensation be drawn from future earnings and assessed "with due regard to the now obvious fact that

it was Dosco's intention to scrap the whole operation."

It is one thing to adopt the correct policy of public ownership, but it's another thing to win it. The federal and provincial governments' policies are clear. They will not be budged in this direction without the mobilization of the people of Nova Scotia. The Steelworkers in Cape Breton are waiting for a call to action. The Colchester-Hants by-election campaign can play a significant role in awakening all Nova Scotia to the need for a rational economic development program based on public ownership and popular participation in the planning of the economy.

Since then, however, the acting head of the CLC and a former CCF member of the Nova Scotia legislature, ex-Steelworker Donald MacDonald, has come out for public ownership. He has been joined



'ROWDY DEMONSTRATION'? Children of steelworkers turned up at Steel mill No. 1 gate early Saturday morning, Oct. 14, the day following the Dosco bosses' announcement that they were shutting down the mill. The picket was labelled a "rowdy demonstration" by the Sydney police chief, who told some Xavier College students he didn't want his statement repeated. The students later organized their own demonstration to protest the closure.

THE WEEKEND
VANGUARD



... **Che Guevara**

CHE GUEVARA:
His Cause Will Triumph

LSA Campaign Wins As NDP Forced to Run

OTTAWA, Oct. 29 (UPI) — In a surprise political upset today, the Liberal Party won the federal election, forcing the New Democratic Party to run its first campaign in the House of Commons. The Liberals won 130 seats, while the NDP won 19 seats. The Progressive Conservative Party won 107 seats. The election was held on Oct. 29, 1967.

The Liberal Party, led by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, won a majority government. The NDP, led by Jean J. Jacques, won 19 seats. The Progressive Conservative Party, led by Robert B. Harris, won 107 seats. The election was held on Oct. 29, 1967. The Liberals won 130 seats, while the NDP won 19 seats. The Progressive Conservative Party won 107 seats. The election was held on Oct. 29, 1967.

**For Canada's
Compliance to
Vietnam
Break Line of Aggression
Against North Vietnam**

**For a Policy Independent
of the U.S. Power Structure
For Peace Trade and Aid**

**VOTE LABOUR VOTE
DOWSON**
Noyd Colchester-Harris

VOTE LABOUR

DOWSON
Noyd Colchester-Harris

CANADIAN UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES (CUPE) is the largest union in the LSA/NDP campaign. It is a key ally of the NDP. The CUPE is a union of public employees. It is a key ally of the NDP. The CUPE is a union of public employees. It is a key ally of the NDP.

...NDP Enters Election



#136 Oct. 30, 1967

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Published fortnightly by The Workers Vanguard Publishing Assoc.,
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Managing Editor: Dick Fidler

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50 Years of the Russian Revolution

November 7 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian socialist revolution. As the attention of the whole world turns to celebrations of fifty years of the world's first workers' state and the tremendous advances which the revolution has wrought — massive comprehensive welfare schemes, creation of a vast industrial complex which has made the country the world's second industrial power, the impressive achievements in space flights and exploration — we recall the international significance of the conquest of power in 1917 by the Russian workers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky.

It is surely one of history's greatest "ironies" that the socialist revolution triumphed first in Europe's most backward country — a backwardness reflected even in the fact that the revolution entered the history books as the "October" revolution, after the anachronistic Czarist calendar. But the revolution was anything but an "accident." In Russia of 1917, predominantly agricultural, riddled with poverty, prostrated by the burdens of the war, the native capitalists had already outlived any progressive role they might have enjoyed in a previous epoch. Unable to give the peasants the land, to emancipate the many oppressed nationalities which made up the majority of the old Czarist empire, the social democratic reformist régime of Kerensky, which had settled like a cyst on the democratic anti-monarchist revolution of February and represented more and more openly the interests of landlord and capitalist, found itself confronted in an open struggle for power by the newly formed, rapidly developing working class. This working class, heavily concentrated in small but important areas like Petrograd, was already taking the political initiative by forming its indigenous organs of rule, the Soviets. The October insurrection of the Soviets saw the ulcer of Russia's national and social contradictions pricked by the lancet of Lenin's socialist party, the most advanced workers' party in Europe. Tasks which in other countries in other epochs had been tackled and resolved by capitalism, in semi-feudal Russia required the leadership of the working class, its party, the Bolsheviks, and its program, socialism. It is on the social foundations of the new workers' state — nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade — that the tremendous material and social benefits of the revolution were achieved. In such a society, from which competition for private profits has been eliminated, there is no need for war to maintain the economy.

The failure of the Russian socialist revolution to spread to western Europe — a failure due in the final analysis to the immaturity of leadership of the workers' parties of the day — contributed more than anything else to the continued isolation of the Soviet Union, and fostered the growth of a privileged bureaucracy. As the young Soviet state, followed by the once-proud, now demoralized party of Lenin succumbed to the narrow national interests and outlook of Stalinism, the Communist International supreme achievement of the old Bolsheviks, itself fell under the spell of the revolution's gravediggers. The revolution suffered defeat after defeat — in China, Germany, Spain, France. . . Deprived of leadership, the workers' struggle in the advanced capitalist countries fell back under the blows of fascism and Nazism. The storm center of revolution retreated to other parts of the world.

In recent years, however, the upsurge of the colonial revolution has irrefutably demonstrated that the Russian October revolution of 1917 was no "accident." In China, Cuba, and now Vietnam, the anti-imperialist struggle has overflowed its national, democratic limits once defined for it by middle class leaderships, to take the socialist road. The creation of new workers' states, and the extension of socialism to new parts of the world, have in turn unleashed new currents uncorrupted by Stalinism, tendencies which are groping toward the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and the leaders of the Russian revolution. In the Soviet Union itself, a new generation of youth is questioning and challenging the ruling bureaucracy. Their protest takes the form of cultural-artistic revolt, the demand for freedom of expression. But already, the most advanced elements are raising the cry, Back to Lenin!

That forty years of rule by Stalin and his heirs have been unable to wipe out the major material achievements of October, is testimony, too, to the enduring validity of the Trotskyist perspective. The Fourth International, founded under the aegis of Leon Trotsky, leader of the Petrograd insurrection, founder of the Red Army, and Lenin's closest comrade-in-arms in the darkest days of the civil war and reconstruction, can take justifiable pride in its consistent record of defence of the Soviet workers' state.

We are confident that before the next fifty years has passed, the rest of the world will have followed the example of the Russian workers in 1917. Only then can we take the full measure of the Russian revolution, the most important event of this century. For October 1917 marks the point where man began to pass from the age of blind necessity to the age of freedom — the higher stage of human existence when he consciously controls and plans his future.

#136

**THE WORKERS
VANGUARD**
Oct. 30
1967

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The Elections and the NDP

by the Editors

The results of the provincial elections this month in Ontario and Saskatchewan have demonstrated once again that the New Democratic Party is the English Canadian labor party.

The Ontario vote proves this beyond a doubt. In all the major urban areas save Ottawa, the NDP scored significant gains. In the auto city, Windsor, it broke the powerful Liberal machine of Paul Martin to elect two members to the legislature. In the timber and mining areas of northern Ontario, the party elected four members. Peterborough and Oshawa, which have witnessed bitter labor struggles against injunctions, elected NDP candidates, including the president of the big UAW General Motors local in Oshawa. In the steel city, Hamilton, the party took half the seats, and over 40 per cent of the total vote — its strongest base anywhere.

In Metropolitan Toronto's 26 ridings, where the party had hoped to make a major breakthrough, it increased its seats from five to eight, but placed second in the total party standings with 32.8 per cent of the vote, only 4.7 per cent behind the leading Tories.

The twenty ridings where the NDP ran second — often a close runner-up — are all in urban or Northern regions. While the Tories' share of the popular vote declined from 49 per cent in 1963 to 42 per cent, and the Liberals from 35 per cent to 32 per cent, the NDP vote rose from an average of 16 per cent, to 26 per cent across the province. In rural areas, the NDP vote remained very low. The candidates of the Communist Party received a total of less than 500 votes. The NDP, which contested every riding, got well over 600,000 votes.

In Saskatchewan, most of the Liberal gains from the CCF-NDP were in urban areas, thanks largely to a government redistribution by the Liberal government that broke up the former multiple constituencies in Regina and Saskatoon, which had tended to go solidly CCF. However, the CCF-NDP led the Liberals by small majorities in the total vote in both cities. Although the party continued to hold an important share of the farmers' vote in the predominant rural ridings, 13 of the 20 urban or semi-urban seats went CCF-NDP. The CCF-NDP won 44.4 per cent of the provincial vote, up 4 per cent from the 1964 election when it was defeated after 20 years in government. But it

remained slightly behind the Liberals, who also picked up 4 per cent more votes. Both parties gained equally from the Tories, whose vote was halved.

In both provinces, however, results fell far short of NDP members' hopes. The Saskatchewan party has lost an excellent opportunity to form the government, and seen the gap in seats separating it from the Liberals grow to almost a dozen seats. The Ontario NDP did not even succeed in supplanting the Liberals as official opposition party in the legislature.

Party leaders blame their poor showing on the voters' apathy. The Saskatchewan vote was the lowest in at least 20 years. In Ontario, only 65 per cent of the electorate bothered to vote. New Democrats complain of "a lack of key issues" to differentiate the NDP clearly in the voters' minds from the old-line parties, and win positive support on a mass scale. But surely there can be no issue more important than who is to rule, — the parties of capital or the party of the working class.

There is ample evidence that most of those in Ontario who voted NDP did so precisely because they identified the NDP with the labor movement. Political analyst Peter Regenstreif, for example, in a Toronto-wide survey just prior to the election, found this to be the most significant factor by far in motivating NDP voters. He discovered that "close to 50 per cent of the electorate identifies itself as 'working class'." That a large part of these people did *not* vote NDP must be blamed squarely on the party's refusal to present a clear class alternative in its election literature and speeches, in its unseemly drive to "prove" its own respectability and "responsibility" within the present capitalist system.

Only by presenting workers with a clear programmatic alternative worth fighting for can the NDP hope to make further appreciable gains, and translate its mass potential as the party of the vast majority, the working class, into actual political power.

Nor can this fight be confined to election contests every four years. It must be carried continuously and on every level. Reports that the Windsor NDP is now thinking out loud of contesting all 8 city council seats in the next municipal election, suggest that this lesson is coming home to at least some NDP activists.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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Gov'ts Hide Pollution Peril

by P. Kent

They're killing us! They're putting us through agonising tortures, destroying our crops, killing our cattle, poisoning our water, wrecking our health. Yes, they're killing us!

It's taking place right across the country, on a more ruthless scale in the main areas of population concentration, openly, and in broad daylight.

It's called pollution. It's a product of modern industrial society. Science has diagnosed it and prescribed the cures. But that it rages on, ever-widening its toll, is due entirely to the chief generators of this horrifying blight, the Big Business interests, and their cynical, ruthless drive for profits.

These criminals are aided and abetted in their foul deeds, which strikes out most savagely at the aged and at infants, by the very institutions that are alleged to have been erected to protect us. Government bodies and spokesmen consistently cover up the crimes, often deny and persistently minimize the danger. The courts, when the odd case gets that far, are obsequiously tolerant of the accused, usually dismissing charges on the flimsiest of technical details. Even when the accused are found guilty, the sentences are so light that the courts can only be considered to be licensing bureaus ~~for the practice of this murderous~~ war on all society.

This may sound like a wild exaggeration but it is not — in any way shape or form.

Within a generation you'll be the exception in any major city if you don't have emphysema, lung cancer or some respiratory ailment like bronchitis, from the dirt and gas that is polluting the air.

It has become so serious that if you live in Metropolitan Toronto your chances of dying of cancer are twice as high as they would be if you lived in the country. If you are male, over 40, and live in a city of over 100,000 population, there is a 50% chance you will die of lung cancer.

Everyone has seen photos of the smog, the pollution that often hangs like a shroud over Los Angeles. Carbon monoxide levels early this month in Toronto were very close to Los Angeles'. As winter heat is needed, Metro Toronto, which burns nearly three million tons of coal and 240 million tons of fuel oil a

year, will almost certainly surpass Los Angeles for pollution. Toronto has the highest concentration of cars and trucks, the major generators of this poison, per square mile in North America—right behind Los Angeles and Washington.

The safe level for carbon monoxide, according to California state law, is 30 parts per million. Two years ago Toronto's daily average was 32.1, and it has obviously gone higher since.

The U.S. National Center for Air Pollution Control claims that an annual concentration of .015 parts per million of sulphur dioxide will cause significant health effects among the aged, infirm and very young. An average above .05 parts causes excessive deaths. Yet the sulphur dioxide count at Toronto's city hall is about 50% above the U.S. "excessive deaths" figure.

None of this is new. Pollution has been going on for many years. But in recent decades it has escalated to a killing pace. As the danger has mounted and become more obvious the cover-up campaign inspired by capital, and mouthed by its multiple agents throughout the state apparatus, has become more massive.

(See page 3)



Last summer, dead tree frames view of Electric Reduction Company's plant. Local farmers had been complaining of fluorine pollution for years, long until Dr. G. L. Waldbott, a world authority on fluorine, published *Air of Death*. There is no known cure for fluorine poisoning.

... Pollution Danger

(continued from page 1)

Take the situation in the community around Dunnville, Ontario, which broke into the headlines with the recent CBC TV program, *Air of Death*. The ERCO Chemicals Limited plant, a subsidiary of Electric Reduction Co. of Canada, Limited, has been rapidly expanding its operations there now for the past 6 years, polluting the region of 8,000 people with a pall of fluorine.

The Ontario government has known about the dangerous situation there for over two years, and probably considerably longer. Almost a year ago veterinarians from the Ontario Agricultural College ordered the destruction of livestock in the area as they were rotten and dying of fluorosis.

One farmer testifies that as early as six years ago he started to complain that something was wrong. Now there are reports throughout the community of bronchial trouble, stiffening of the joints, etc.

The CBC program reported that a leading U.S. lung specialist, a Doctor G. L. Waldbott, who examined nine Dunnville area residents states that two of them are dying from fluorosis. He claims that the company is not only killing the living but is probably deforming the unborn.

Now, only now, Ontario Health Minister Dr. Matthew Dymond has moved. He has called for an investigation. A three-man committee has been set up under the Public Enquiries Act to investigate all forms of fluoride pollution. Meanwhile, as NDP health critic Fred Young (Yorkview) points out, the study will get underway "while allowing the fertilizer plant, which is obviously the source of all the trouble, to go on pouring out its poison on the surrounding landscape — which includes people."

And that is how the government

has tied up the whole struggle against this major peril confronting us. Metro Toronto air pollution legislation is a farce. The air control authority has no jurisdiction except to watch chimneys for smoke. But smoke accounts for only 20% of the area's real pollution problem. The authority has no control over fuels. Ontario Hydro's Richard Hearn steam generating station throws 74,300 tons of sulphur dioxide — half the Metro Toronto total — into the air. Last summer when Metro proposed new air pollution by-laws, the provincial government moved in to place control in the hands of the Ontario Health department's environmental health division, presided over by a Dr. Robert Sutherland, a well known opponent of what he calls "alarm" and "exaggeration" about the pollution danger.

A series of remedies could very easily be adopted. Any plants that don't cooperate, rather than being fined and fined again, should be closed down, or taken over under public ownership and the danger eliminated. A ban could be placed on all fuels with a high sulphur content. Such operations as Ontario Hydro's could be completely eliminated as a source of air pollution by replacing them with nuclear plants.

An A. H. Mackling told the delegates at this summer's convention of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities that "we must attack immediately because industry is difficult to move at the best of times. . . If we wait until industry is set in its production techniques the abatement of pollution will require a wholesale revolution in our system."

Industry is set all right — its guiding line is the piling up of profits. The program needed to head off and stop this killing is one that flows from another principle — the needs of humanity.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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Shorter Work Week - Answer to Layoffs

The Editors

Drastic increases in unemployment figures, highlighted by wide-ranging layoffs on the railways, are bringing broad layers of Canadian workers face to face with the threat that automation poses to their hard-won gains. As the effects of automation multiply, it is becoming more and more clear that the labor leadership is being caught flat-footed with no program to meet the situation.

For instance, on the railways, nearly 4,000 railroad employees lost their jobs within a few days this month. The CN sacked 2,700 — about 3 percent of its total payroll. But CN top management is projecting a layoff of 8 to 10 percent. And Members of Parliament are talking of layoffs of up to 10,000 by spring.

Although railway officials attribute the layoffs to a decline in freight traffic, the real roots of the situation are to be found in government policy as outlined in the MacPherson Royal Commission report of 1963. The report recommended a thorough "streamlining" of the railways in accord with private enterprise concepts, to make them paying propositions, not by liquidating the CN's debt that was imposed by the unification of 50 years ago, but by drastically cutting back public services. Already, hundreds of miles of branch lines have been eliminated, in scandalous disregard for the needs of entire communities. And between 1956 and 1965, CN employment was scaled down from 116,000 to 86,000. Now officials estimate a further drop to 75,000 by 1970.

(See page 3)

30 for 40 is Answer To Automation, Layoffs

(continued from page 1)

The general alternatives which such "streamlining" sharply poses to the rail unions, were posed years ago in a CBRT Current Affairs leaflet:

"We have to face it: an integrated transportation system is going to come. The question is — is it going to come the capitalist way, with probably the CPR taking over, or is it going to come the public service way, with ownership vested in the Canadian public?"

But when it comes to presenting a program to meet the immediate crisis, the rail union leaders fail to meet the challenge. *Canadian Transport*, the CBRT official organ, presents NDP deputy leader David Lewis' 4 point proposals — 1) a government order to stop the layoffs, 2) railways should be forced to negotiate layoffs with the unions, 3) unions should be warned regarding nature and extent of layoffs, and 4) higher benefits must be paid to laid-off workers.

But the last three suggestions — which would seem the actual program of the CBRT leaders — imply that they have already accepted the layoffs. Worse still, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen on Nov. 11 actually endorsed the concept that the company has the right to eliminate workers displaced by automation, when it signed what it termed a "pattern-setting agreement" with the CPR which would eliminate 2,000 rail yard jobs over the whole industry.

The CPR proposal to reduce switching crews was accepted by the BRT with a job protection guarantee for those workers with a year's seniority or more. But a guarantee to employees already established in a particular sector is no solution to the needs of the labor force as a whole, still less to the youth who are flooding the labor market in unprecedented numbers.

Railway workers are not alone in paying the price of the labor movement's failure so far to project a general strategy to cope with the effects of automation. In Don Mills about 120 workers, many with long service, were given 3 days notice of termination by the Perfect Circle Company, which closed when its new parent company, Hayes-Dana of St. Catharines, absorbed the plant into its St. Thomas operation. To add insult to injury, the company had the gall to call them back for another week, to bury their jobs by helping to move the machinery out.

The Steelworkers union, which bargains for the Perfect Circle employees, talked of guaranteeing pension rights, providing severance pay, and giving the employees bumping rights into the new plant (those few who can move or be fitted into the new operation). Important as these proposals are in dealing with the immediate crisis, however, they fail to come to grips with the central issue — that of the complete elimination of most of the jobs involved.

Why should the benefits of automation, which has enormously increased productivity, only be used to hike profits while it destroys the livelihood of increasing numbers of those who produce the wealth, the workers? It is not jobs, but the work week, which must be reduced. The benefits of technological advances, which are intended to reduce labor and increase leisure, must be passed on to the workers.

The Toronto Labor Council has endorsed a Railway Clerks' motion for a 30 hour work week in the railways and government industries. The task is to take this resolution off the order paper and carry it into the ranks, to forge a common strategy for the shorter work week at the same take-home pay. Only a militant struggle around this slogan can guarantee the gains that have been won through the struggle of the Canadian working people for a better life. The watchword — 30 for 40. We can't settle for less!

Tribute to the First Workers State

There were celebrations across the globe in honor of the 50th anniversary of the November 7, 1917 victory of the Russian Revolution which established the first workers state.

In the Soviet area they were largely formal ceremonies organized by the regime in tribute to the great material progress of the USSR.

In the capitalist countries, there were celebrations such as that held in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa with declared and undeclared enemies of the October Revolution as guests. Rituals where platitudes about peaceful coexistence were intoned in homage to a revolution that occurred half a century ago in a far away land.

And there were the celebrations of the parties such as the Communist party of Canada — semi-official friends and apologists for the bureaucratic clique that has grown up on the revolution.

"Our celebrations," said Ross Dowson to a Toronto assembly, "the celebrations of the League for Socialist Action and the Trotskyists across the globe, go far beyond any formal ceremony or tribute to the material progress of the USSR, the

foundations for which were of course laid down by the revolution in 1917. And they are in a totally different spirit than that which pervades the celebrations of such Communist parties as the Canadian CP."

Dramatic Presentation

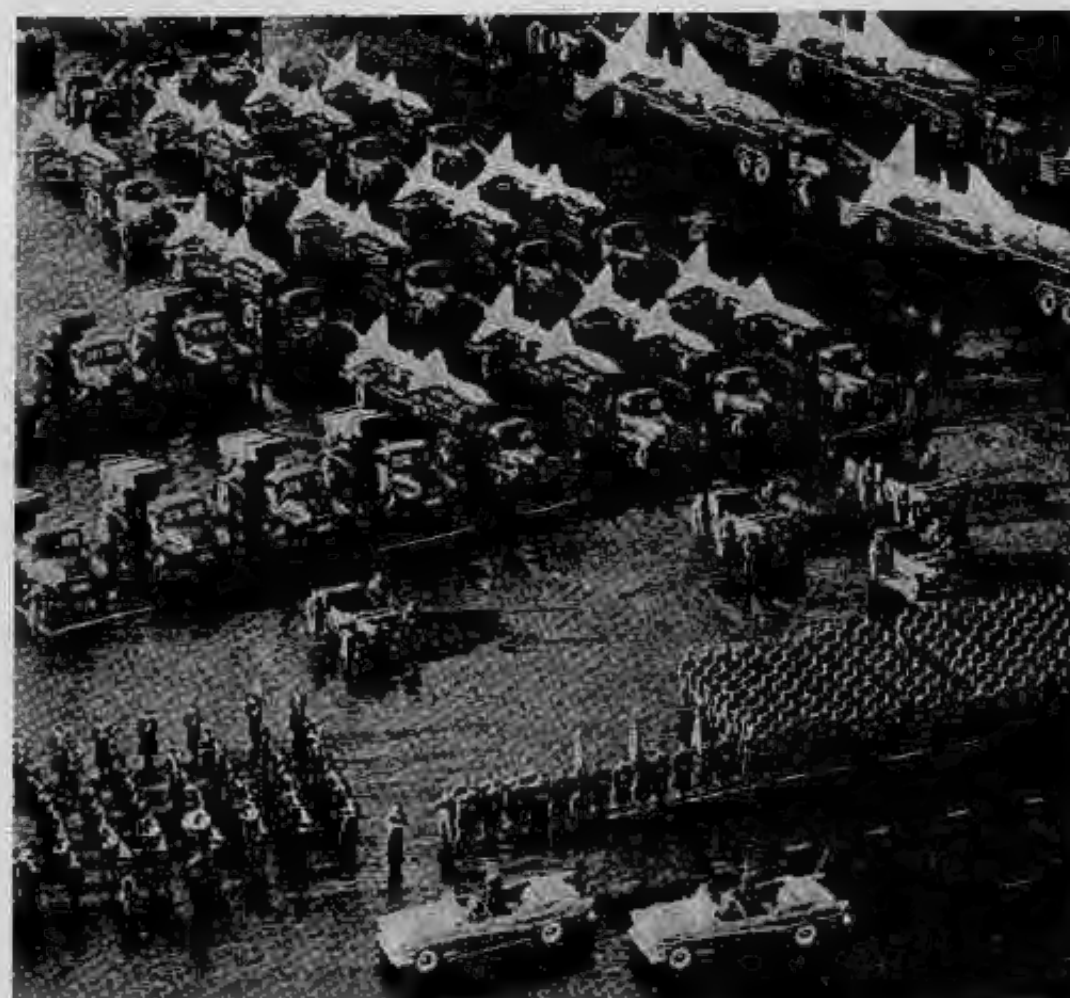
Dowson's speech was preceded by a dramatic presentation of readings from the 1917 *Toronto Globe* which expressed the Canadian ruling class' hatred for the revolution, from the proceedings of the Western Labor Conference through which Canadian workers expressed their solidarity with the new workers state, and from episodes of the revolution itself as witnessed in the writings of John Reed, and Leon Trotsky.

Referring to this tableau of the living revolution Dowson said, "that Russian Revolution — the real revolution is our revolution! November 7 sounded the death sentence of the old order — capitalism. It not only toppled Czarism but conquered over the bourgeois democratic regime headed by Kerensky. It was a permanent revolution which announced the beginning of the new order on a world scale. It raised high the banner of the world socialist revolution.

"It was the true beginning of human history. The working class, consciously intervening in the historic process, proved the possibility of their taking the power, their capacity to forge the type of party necessary to take the power. The Russian Revolution means that we can make our revolution here. If they could do it, why can't we?

Revolution or 'Coalition'?

"What kind of celebration of the great October Revolution is that which is being carried on by the group in Canada which calls itself the Communist party? Examine the words of its leader, William Kash-



REVIEWING TROOPS. Soviet Defence Minister Marshall A. A. Gromekho reviews rocket units of the Red Army that had just taken part in Moscow parade marking 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Impressive weaponry underscores the extensive measures necessary to defend the world's first workers state against the continuing threat from American imperialism.

tan, in the November 6 *Tribune*.

"The revolution which broke with the Compromisers, which exposed the coalition of the 'progressive' forces of the bourgeoisie, and smashed the provisional government headed by Kerensky — this revolution, the very essence of which is all power to the workers, Kashtan hails with talk about the creation 'sooner or later' in Canada of an 'anti-monopoly coalition.'

The Russian Revolution, the armed insurrection, peaceful because it was armed, but which was immediately challenged on all fronts by armies of intervention, had to

fight every type of warfare, including guerrilla, for four bloody years. Yet this revolution is hailed by Kashtan with promises that his projected anti-monopoly coalition will ultimately move 'towards the achievement of socialism in our country,' and, with an admonition to the workers, 'by peaceful means.'

"And what kind of celebration of October is it which can talk as Kashtan does about our having 'gone a long way from the period when a Tory Canadian government participated in a war of intervention . . . as part of the effort of world imperialism to crush the

October Revolution,' while U.S. imperialism, with the shameless complicity of the Canadian ruling class, is attempting with every means possible to crush the Vietnamese revolution?

Continuing Struggle

Dowson referred to two aspects of the real world which should be dealt with in our celebrations of October. First is the confrontation between most of humanity and still dominant imperialism.

The Soviet leadership's interventions in the world political arena since the advent of Stalin have not been to aid the victory of workers struggles but to induce imperialism to draw back and, as in Vietnam, negotiate in accordance with the illusory concept of peaceful coexistence.

Now OLAS, under the inspiration of the Cuban leadership, opens up a new and promising perspective. In the spirit of October it sees the conflict between imperialism and the revolutionary struggles as irreconcilable, and raises to pre-eminence the duty to make the revolution.

The other aspect Dowson drew attention to was the increased vigor of the struggle in the USSR and the workers states against the bureaucracy in the direction of re-establishing workers' democracy. Destalinization has only shown that the end to bureaucratic injustices will not come through simple reformist interventions but through revolutionary struggle, through the political revolution as envisaged by Trotsky.

This upsurge in the USSR, he said, will remove the taint that discredits the ideas of October in the West and will result in the re-forging of the alliance of the Soviet people with the people of the rest of the world who, since 1917, have moved much further along the path to victory.

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Who Will Speak for Quebec?



THE WORKERS VANGUARD

Vol. 12, No. 7 1976 Thursday, 11, 1977 Toronto and Ont.

STATESMAN ON SHUTTING Italy their silence was known for some. Premier Robarts of Ontario 1977 Premier-Belmonte of Quebec could during break in the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference in Toronto, New Brunswick, offered an what the big issue was of the week published conflict. "It is two papers had the same idea of what was important," suggested one commentator. "Isn't that a bit that really nothing happened?"

by the Editors

Well, it was a great show. High up on the 54th floor of the Toronto-Dominion Bank's headquarters, with a commanding view of Toronto's financial district — just so they wouldn't forget who really determines the country's destiny — the premier and leading spokesmen of the two provinces gathered for four days of talks on the "Confederation of Tomorrow." But when it was all over, no one could quite agree on what had been accomplished.

Ontario's Premier Robarts, the conference sponsor, hailed it as a "unique" event, "perhaps a turning point for Canada." Editorial writers were more restrained. "The game was reasonable." "The dialogue has begun." The reporters were harsh: "a great farce-act," said one, which "glorified Robarts . . . to command the nation's front pages for a week without any of the nation's press ever observing that the premier had no clothes on." But, what else could be expected? "The great conference . . . had been specifically designed to achieve nothing and commit no one to anything."

Constitutional Reform

It was widely noted that Quebec Premier Johnson should be the center of attention at the conference. For the "Crisis of Confederation" is above all the crisis of Quebec and the national inequality of French Canada within the present constitutional setup. But, much as the daily press there is steeped in atmosphere of recrimination, of a fundamental clash of progress and politics, between Johnson and the

other political leaders, it became increasingly clear that whatever differences there were between Quebec and the other provinces on constitutional reform, they could be easily accommodated within the pres-

'FREE QUEBEC' DISPLEASES PEARSON

Prime Minister Pearson (center) indignantly when French President De Gaulle once put his self-determination for Quebec "An intolerable intervention," Pearson snapped, adding "Self-determination is no new discovery for us."

But when was Pearson's right-one indignation when the United States "intervened" — and was simply with words — in Vietnam, were there any? And where was it?

been while the U.S. intervened in "intervention," pouring arms and even into that freedom country on 14 July the war engaged over 500,000 U.S. troops, cost almost \$100 billion a day, and threatened the whole world with nuclear annihilation?

Yes, Pearson has "discovered" self-determination. And he's determined to fight it wherever it runs its ugly head — be it Vietnam or Quebec.

and system. Johnson readily conceded that his concept of a "new constitution" could be arrived at within the spirit of changes to the British North America Act, the act of the British parliament which created this country 100 years ago.

What the atmosphere of anti-racism and consensus, of gentlemanly handshakes, nods and bowing heads which prevailed throughout the conference really revealed, is that there is much more to the so-called constitutional question than the relations obtaining between the French and English nations, important as those are. The real issues in Canadian political life — those which determine the present and the future of our lives — are the class questions. The real "constitutional" question is "Who is to rule?" — the "rulers" of the rich, of that tiny minority which presently owns and controls the vast

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Constitution Is Not the Issue

(continued from page 1)

productive machinery and the great natural resources of this land; or the "nation" of the poor, the vast majority who own nothing but the sweat of their brow, who operate the factories, till the soil, in short, produce all the wealth.

Priorities

It doesn't require a Royal Commission of Inquiry with \$6-million and four years of research to discover the obvious fact that most French Canadians are very dissatisfied with their status as a nation in the Canadian confederation. What is perhaps not so widely known — and it goes without saying that the capitalist rulers of this country and their hired scribes in the daily press have no interest in making it known — is that most French Canadians are far less interested in "constitutional reform" than they are with the social conditions governing their daily lives. A recent CBC-TV survey reported that only four percent think constitutional changes should take priority over "bread and butter" matters. Forty percent thought housing the most important question. Other priorities listed were, in order, education, unemployment, wages and inflation, all of which came before changes in the legal constitution.

Insofar as he drew attention to the problems of preserving and contributing to the French language, culture and education which are vital to the very existence and continued development of the Québécois, Premier Johnson could rightly claim he spoke for all French Canadians at the Robarts confab. But did he speak for Quebec workers, when only a month before, his government forced the striking Montreal transit employees back to work by imposing compulsory arbitration and threatening decertification of their unions if they did not comply? Did he speak for the majority of the population when, earlier this year, he forced the 50,000 striking schoolteachers back to work with similar legislation? Or when the Union Nationale government dumped plans to begin its promised medicare plan on July 1 of next year? Or when he told a meeting of Wall Street bankers in New York last month that he was one hundred percent behind the other Johnson's war in Vietnam, which he described as "a battle for the defense of the free world?"

Capitalist Solidarity

That which unites Johnson and all his ilk with the other provincial premiers — their common and enthusiastically shared belief in the virtues of "our" capitalist system — is much stronger than any "national" differences tending to divide them.

As a "constitution," the BNA Act has nothing with which the average man or woman can identify or take pride, not even, for example, a Bill of Rights to which we might appeal in defense of elementary democratic rights. The *real* constitution of this country, however, is much more than the BNA Act, which in itself is only a scrap of paper. The constitution is the entire system of courts, army, police, and all the accumulated legal relationships which reflect the systematized, organized violence of the capitalist rulers of this country. The ultimate constitution, which really determines the way in which the government and political life operates, is the actual relationship of class forces, the relation between the rulers and the ruled.

What better proof could there be of the bourgeois character, the limited popular appeal, of *all* the major Quebec political parties than their common insistence that a "new constitution" — which, separatist and federalist alike, they consider only as new legal readjustments without any corresponding social changes — is the most important requirement of the French-Canadian nation today? Constitutional reform is the formula for capitalist unity in Quebec. Liberal Opposition leader Jean Lesage is pressing Johnson's Union Nationale government for a "common front" on constitutional demands, around the same "program" advanced by Johnson. As for the small but influential separatist parties — while RIN leader Pierre Bourgault speculates openly on his desired "rapprochement" with the Union Nationale, ex-Créditiste Gilles Grégoire's Ralliement Nationale maneuvers towards a fusion with the RIN.

Power of Labor

What *does* Quebec want? Does it want constitutional reform? Certainly no French Canadians are opposed to such reforms. But most of them want far more than that. The Quiet Revolution of recent years has been not just the demagogy of the Johnson's, Lesage's, Bourgault's and Co. More than anything else, it is the inspiring militancy of a labor movement which has increased four-fold since the Second World War, and doubled in the past five years; a movement which is in the forefront of the fight for better housing, free education, medicare, wage parity with Ontario and American workers, and an end to the vicious anti-labor legislation which successive Union Nationale and Liberal regimes have placed on the books. Victory on these demands won't come through constitutional reform, but only through a tough, uncompromising struggle to put labor in power. To lead that struggle, Quebec workers will have to follow the example of their brothers in English Canada, and mobilize their powerful forces in an effective political arm, a mass labor party capable of taking power and implementing a program which really meets the needs of the Quebec workers. Only a workers' government will be in a position to formulate a new constitution — a constitution which must reflect a fundamental change in the relationship of class forces in French Canadian society.

Wortlers' Vanguard #139 Dec. 11, 1967

Deutscher's
last work



The Unfinished Revolution

As was to be expected, this year being its 50th anniversary, the Russian Revolution has provoked a flood of books. From widely differing viewpoints the authors approach the event itself, its historical significance, its impact on the rest of the world, and the possible future development of the state that came out of it. All testify to the fact that the Russian Revolution is a major if not the major event in world history.

Some of them are totally worthless. The bulk of them are of little or doubtful value to a serious understanding of this event which continues to challenge the world. REV-

OLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1894-1921, Viking, \$12.50 is of interest for its vivid presentation of how the capitalist press of the time, in this case *The New York Tribune* and *The New York Herald*, reported it to its readers.

But the most important book by far is **THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, Russia 1917-1967** by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford University Press, 115 pp., \$4.15.

This slender volume is composed of the George Macaulay Trevelyan lectures, a series of five, that the author delivered at the University of Cambridge early this year. Despite their terseness they constitute

a brilliant survey of the roots, the course, the achievements, and the shortcomings of the first half century of the Soviet Union.

With Deutscher's death this summer the world lost one of its most gifted Marxist scholars and historians. But these lectures are a fitting summary, a crown, so to speak, to the immense scholarship, skill and devotion that Deutscher applied to the understanding of an event that shaped his own personal life and has continued to challenge all mankind.

They serve as an overall survey of the many articles that appeared under his name on Communist affairs, and in particular his magnum opus, his trilogy on Leon Trotsky the co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution and the Third International, *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed* and *The Prophet Outcast*. Vintage paperbacks, \$2.85 each.

Deutscher takes on the task of answering two questions. (1) has the Russian Revolution fulfilled the hopes that it aroused, and (2) what is its significance to mankind? With great skill he sketches in the roots of the revolution that caused it to overleap the bourgeois stage and take on a socialist direction; the conditions that laid the basis for a whole series of setbacks, including the defeat of the Leninist opposition and the assumption of power by a bureaucratic clique headed by Stalin.

In penetrating asides Deutscher demonstrates the superiority of Soviet planned economy over capitalism, exposes the superficiality of such concepts as Djilas' that the bureaucracy constitutes a new class, and demolishes the idea that socialism has failed, bred by the myth of Socialism in One Country, the theoretical expression of the conservatism of the Stalinist regime that paved the way for the corruption of the world communist movement and the defeats in pre-war Germany, France, Spain and post-war France, Italy and Greece.

One of the most interesting parts of the book deals with the mounting demand of the Soviet masses to know the truth about their own revolution, immersed in lies and blood by Stalin, and still hidden by his heirs; and the inexorable drive of Soviet society to obtain control over its governments and to transform the state into an instrument of the nation's democratically expressed will and interest.

As Deutscher titled his book, the Russian Revolution is unfinished. He foresaw the Soviet peoples "following up their own great struggle of 1917" — retrieving their "civil liberties and essential political control over the state". It is unfinished in another sense too — that the West has not yet taken the road of 1917.

by R.D.